National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR. WITHOUT CONCEALMENT....WITHOUT COMPROMISE. EDMUND QUINCY, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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Selections.

BALTIMORE PLATFORMS—SLAVERY QUESTION, &c.

SPEECH OF HON. J. R. GIDDINGS,

OF OHIO,

In the House of Representatives, June 23, 1852.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union on the Deficiency Bill,

Mr. Giddings said:

Mr. Chairman: The two great political parties of the nation have held their Conventions. From all parts of these United States delegates have assembled, deliberated upon their platform of principles, avowed their doctrines, nominated their candidates for President and Vice President, and now have entered on the presidential campaign. Preparatory to this state of things, many speeches were made here, to which the Democrats, the advocates of liberty, listened with commendable attention. And now, Mr. Chairman, I rise to occupy a brief hour in vindicating the position of the party to which I am attached. Often during the last six months, the question has been propounded to me, whether we should vote for the candidates of the Whig or the Democratic party? This question, so far as I am concerned, will probably be answered satisfactorily before I take my seat. I will, however, add, in this connection, that the friends of freedom labour to sustain *measures;* they care little for *men.* They adhere tenaciously to *principle,* but have no attachment to *parties.*

It is not my purpose to examine very critically the principles of those parties. It may be sufficient for me to remark that they agree as to the policy which ought to control our Government. The Democrats first avowed their doctrines. Their confession of political faith having been two weeks before the public, and being read and duly considered before the assembling of the Whig Convention, that body took issue upon none of the doctrines avowed, nor upon the policy maintained by the Democrats. I notice in some papers much is said in relation to "internal improvements." The Democrats say "the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government power to commence and carry on a *system of internal improvements.*" Do the Whigs take issue on this general and unmeaning assertion? Not at all. They answer, "the Constitution vests in Congress power to open and improve harbours, remove obstructions in navigable rivers, &c., *said improvements being in every instance national and general in their character.*" Now, sir, no Democrat ever did or ever will deny this doctrine. So, too, the Democrats make assertions about "fostering one branch of industry to the detriment of another;" and the Whigs refuse the issue thus tendered, but in answer assert doctrines which no Democrat denies. The Democrats attempt to galvanize into existence the obsolete idea of a National Bank, to which the Whigs make no reply, admitting by their silence the Democratic faith. Neither advances a principle which is denied by the other; they stand on the record in perfect harmony. And no other contest exists than a strife for office, for place and power; for the spoils, the loaves and fishes.

This is the first time, for many years, that these parties have each put forth an avowal of their doctrines. In the change of times, and the ordinary course of events, they now find themselves in perfect harmony with each other. The day of their contention and disagreement has passed away. The issues which once really existed between them have become obsolete, or have been given up. Their usefulness is at an end, and their history will soon be written. The increase of intelligence, the improvements of the age, demand new organizations, and new parties. For years, the old parties have intermingled constantly, and no influence has been able to keep them separate. Here, and throughout the country, some Whigs act with the Democratic party, and some Democrats act with the Whig party. For the last four years there has been no matter of legislation before this body on which the members have arrayed themselves according to their party character. On every question, a portion of Whigs have acted with the Democrats, and a portion of Democrats have acted with the Whigs. Indeed, sir, those who have watched the proceedings here for the past few years, could not fail to see that Slavery constitutes the only question of interest before us.

Notwithstanding the Whigs and Democrats are acting in perfect harmony with each other, they have united in tendering to the friends of liberty important issues. One of those issues is so extraordinary, that it demands my first attention. The proposition is to stifle all further examination of chattel Slavery, and is expressed by the Democrats in the following language:

> "Resolved, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or colour the attempt may be made."

The Whigs resolved:

> "That * * * we will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever and however made."

We, sir, the Free Democracy, will agitate the subject of Slavery and its correlative, freedom. Here, sir, is an issue formed between us. I, sir, am about to agitate this question. I intend to speak plainly of Slavery, of its most revolting features. I will endeavour to use no offensive language, but I will talk of the practice followed by men in this District, of purchasing slave women, and then selling their own children into bondage. Now, when I do this, the Democrats are bound to *resist,* and the Whigs to *discountenance,* my efforts. In order that we may start with a perfect understanding of this conflict, I desire to understand the manner in which the Democrats will manifest their *resistance!* I am now agitating this subject, and what will you do about it?

Now, I hope gentlemen will not feel any particular delicacy in showing their resistance. Don't be alarmed, gentlemen; just stand up here and now before the country; show your resistance. Be not afraid, gentlemen—I am less than the stripling of Israel, who went forth to meet Goliath. You stand pledged to *resist* God's truths—to silence the tongues of freemen. I meet you and hurl defiance at you, and your infamous attempts to stifle the freedom of speech. And now, who speaks for the carrying out of this resolution?

Mr. Chairman, we may "call spirits from the vasty deep," but they will not come.

I repeat to the Democrats: I want to know what you are going to do? You are bound to *resist.*

Mr. Durkee (in his seat). Their tongues are tied.

Mr. Giddings. You are a friend of liberty and not authorized to speak for them [laughter]. I want some one to answer who is authorized to speak for their party. I ask respectfully of my colleague from the Circleville district, what do you mean to do? How will you resist me?

Mr. Olds. I am well aware there is no time to reply to an interrogatory while the gentleman is making a speech. If he asks me how, as an Ohio Democrat, I will resist the agitation of the Slavery question here and elsewhere, I will answer him in a minute. I shall resist it here by voting against the suspension of the rules for the introduction of the apple of discord into this House. I shall resist it at home by telling my people to stand by the compromises of the Constitution, and "rather bear the ills we have than fly to others we know not of."

Mr. Giddings. Mr. Chairman, my colleague has given an answer entirely satisfactory. He will vote against any suspension of the rules for introducing the apple of discord. He is perfectly safe. No motion was ever made to suspend the rules for that purpose, or ever will be. But I understand that, when in Committee of the Whole, as we are now, and a member agitates the slave question, he will sit quietly by and say nothing. His resistance will be like that of my Whig friends, to slaveholding dictation; he will sit still and bear it, silently *acquiesce,* as they now do. That is the very resistance which I approve. It is safe—it will injure no one. But at home, he goes for the compromise, for *agitation.* He himself is to become an agitator. Well, sir, I wish the Democratic party joy, in having such agitators among them.

The Whigs, in their Convention, also resolved that they "will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, *wherever, whenever* and *however* the attempt may be made." The language of this resolution differs from that of the Democracy, but its spirit and object is the same. They intend to suppress the freedom of speech here and among the people. On this point the two great parties of the nation have cordially united. A coalition for a more odious purpose could not have been formed. Duty to myself, to this body, and the country, demands an exposure of this conspiracy against the Constitution, against the rights of members here, against the people.

Mr. Chairman, is it contemplated to silence the popular voice in this Hall? If that be not the case, these resolutions mean nothing. They are mere "*brutum fulmen,*" made for show, to frighten men of weak nerves. They may do very well among doughfaces; but when those parties attempt to frighten Free Soilers, they should better understand their opponents.

The Whigs and Democrats united have sufficient numbers to vote us down, to silence us; but they will not do it. They *dare* not do it. The Constitution has provided "that Congress shall pass no law abridging the freedom of speech." That Constitution we have sworn to support, and by the blood of our ancestors we will maintain it. Slaveholders and doughfaces, Whigs and Democrats, may combine to trample that sacred instrument under their feet, by suppressing the freedom of speech; but, sir, they have not the moral power to effect that object.

Agitation or discussion is not only to be put down here, but among the people; they are to have no more Anti-Slavery meetings; no more Free Soil conventions; no more sermons in favour of God's law; no more prayers to Heaven for the oppressed of our land; the Declaration of Independence is to be burned; our printing establishments to be broken up, and our social circles are to speak no more of the rights of all men to enjoy life and liberty. A new political police is to be established, and the American people placed under slaveholding surveillance. Our literary writers are to be driven into exile. But I am paying undeserved attention to these base, these puerile attempts to stifle discussion on the subject of humanity. I hold these resolutions in unutterable contempt. I trample them under my feet. I spit upon them. Their authors, those who adopted them, had better have been attending some Sabbath school, gaining intelligence, and qualifying themselves for some useful employment.

And here I will leave this ridiculous attempt to ape the despotisms of Europe, by stifling discussion upon the absorbing question of liberty.

I will now proceed to examine the reasons why these resolutions were adopted.

Why should these parties in their National Conventions take Congress, the Constitution, and people under their control, and command universal silence upon certain measures? Evidently because investigation and discussion would endanger the future success of their organizations. The very proposition shows that they have no confidence in the people. The man or party who strives to silence discussion, to shut out truth, admits that he is in error. No man, or party, who feels that he is *right,* hesitates to let the whole truth be known. He feels that he will be vindicated by the development of truth, and that his honour will be sustained.

But why should the Whigs and Democrats unite to keep the truth from the public eye, in regard to the compromise measures? Why, sir, the first of those measures was that establishing territorial government in Utah, admitting Slavery and the slave trade to be established there, on soil consecrated to freedom by Mexican laws. I well know the people were told that Slavery could not go there, as it was excluded by the laws of God. Well, sir, official documents now show that assertion to have been a gigantic falsehood. The census returns show that Slavery exists there; that man is there held in bondage, lashed into subjection by his fellow-man; women are sold like swine in the market, and children made subjects of barter. Now, sir, we Free Democrats insist that Slavery and the slave trade should be excluded from that Territory. The motto of our party is "*No slave territory.*" We do not believe it right thus to deal in God's image. But this law which permits these outrages, the Whigs and Democrats say is a *final* settlement; that these practices may continue in all coming time. But they dare not go before the people admitting this truth; nor dare they deny these facts. To avoid this unpleasant question, they resolve to *resist* every attempt to speak or write upon it. Their only way of escaping from popular odium is to keep truth from the people. Now, sir, does any Democrat or any Whig believe that Free Soilers will vote for any candidate pledged to sustain those revolting practices? If any one who ever held a place in the Free Democracy, shall cast such a vote, it will be some other man than myself.

Again, Mr. Chairman, the last Congress provided by the law aforesaid that one or more States may be admitted from said Territory with or without Slavery. They were unwilling that the members of the next or any future Congress should judge for themselves, whenever Utah shall ask admission into the Union; and they have made this foolish attempt to dictate the action of this body in future ages. Well, the provision is, that an indefinite number of slave States may be admitted. Of course, their political power, under the Constitution, will be in proportion to their slaves. The man in Utah, who buys a slave woman, and raises four bastard children, and holds them as *property,* adds as much to the political power of that State as four of those educated and intelligent Democrats who sit before me add to the political influence of a free State. Now, sir, we, the Free Democracy, are unqualifiedly opposed to this insult to Northern dignity. We do not believe that the man who thus sets at defiance God's law, and tramples upon decency, is any better than an educated, intelligent Northern freeman. But, sir, Whigs and Democrats say that this disgraceful inequality shall be allowed to the people of Utah and maintained. They know that public indignation would be kindled against every man who would thus degrade the people of the North. They would hurl from place and power such men, if the facts were known to them. They therefore seek to smother the truth; to keep the people in ignorance; and resolve to *resist* agitation, to *discountenance* discussion. They pledge their candidates to carry out this disgraceful combination against liberty and the rights and honour of the free States, and then turn round and ask honest men, those who possess self-respect, to vote for their own disgrace. Sir, Free Soilers, men of intelligence, will not thus stultify themselves.

The same law, or a law with similar provisions, was enacted in relation to New Mexico. The people of that Territory may, if they please, enter into this speculation in human flesh. They may curse that land with human bondage. Whigs and Democrats say that this law shall be a *final* settlement of that subject; that Slavery and the slave trade shall not be excluded; and the Democrats are to *resist,* and the Whigs to *discountenance,* all discussion in relation to it.

One or more slave States are to be admitted from New Mexico, upon the same terms of degrading inequality to the free States as those from Utah, and Northern men are to submit without discussion. Agitation would, in the words of the Whig resolution, endanger the peace of the Whig party. They say they therefore deprecate agitation. Well, sir, the proper meaning of the verb "to deprecate" is, to "pray against;" and the Whigs will therefore pray against agitation, as it will endanger their peace. Such prayers would simply be "*an abomination;*" they would do no other hurt. And as for the peace of the Whig party, I should far rather see it endangered than to see one child sold from its parents, or one woman flogged, or one man degraded.

The motto of Free Soilers is "No more slave States." This is our unyielding, determined position. We wage an exterminating warfare against every man, and every party who would extend the curse of human servitude, or increase the slave power in any degree. The Democratic party and the Whig party unite in the extension of Slavery and of the slave power, and then ask the friends of liberty to vote with them! *I shall not do it.*

Another measure of the last Congress was a law entitled "An act to *abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia.*" A flagrant falsehood was sent to the people in this title; for the law itself does not profess to abolish the slave trade in this District, and only excludes from this market the slave-breeders of Maryland and Virginia, leaving the sale of men, women and children to continue here. And this commerce in the image of God is to go on and continue forever. The Whigs say it shall not be disturbed, and the Democrats say they too will protect it. These parties have taken position between us and the slave-dealers, and say we shall not discuss the morality of their vocation; indeed, they assert that we shall not agitate the cause of freedom.

You, sir, lately saw an advertisement in the leading Whig paper of this District, in these words: "*For sale, a handsome and accomplished lady's maid, aged just sixteen years.*" Except in this city and New Zealand, I do not think any Government within the bounds of civilization would have permitted such an outrage upon decency. I speak of New Zealand without intending any disrespect to the people of that island by comparing their habits with ours. They buy men and women for food only. The object is far more honourable and Christian-like than that for which the young women of this city are advertised and sold.

Mr. Chairman, Gen. Scott and Gen. Pierce are both pledged to maintain this traffic in the bodies of women, and the advocates of liberty are asked to aid in electing them. Sir, let those parties revel in such moral and political wickedness; let them pledge themselves and their candidate to perpetrate crimes revolting to humanity, but I beseech them not to insult honest men, philanthropists and Christians, by asking them to participate in such transcendent iniquity.

Another of the compromise measures is the Fugitive Slave Law. Of the character of this law, I have spoken on former occasions. Of its unconstitutionality, I think no unprejudiced mind can doubt, who listened to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Rantoul]. Of the crimes committed under this law; of the enormities of sending free men into Slavery, under colour of this law; of the barbarous and savage character of the agents selected by this Administration to carry it out, I have no time to speak. I noticed in the address of a clergyman lately delivered before the Home Missionary Society, a statement that the reverend speaker was in the central parts of Russia during last summer; that an intelligent nobleman taunted him with the character of this Fugitive Law, saying: "*You can find nothing in the legal code of Russia, nor in the decrees of her Emperors, equal to that barbarous law.*" No, sir, I do not believe that any despot of Russia, or of Austria, was ever guilty of putting forth so barbarous a law; yet the Democratic party and the Whig party tell us that this law shall remain as a *final* settlement of this subject. The Whig party, it is true, reserve to themselves the right of making it *more barbarous.* But it is to remain a law, and continue in force while time shall last. Yes, when the "archangel shall descend from heaven with a rainbow upon his head, and placing one foot upon the earth and the other upon the sea, shall *swear by Him who liveth forever and ever, that* time shall be no longer," the dread summons shall find the people of Philadelphia, New York and Boston upon the "*qui vive,*" hunting for slave mothers, who have fled from all else they hold dear in life, in order to enjoy liberty. There, Whigs and Democrats will be found supporting this law; and when they shall close their eyes upon terrestial objects, they will be listening to the baying of bloodhounds, the clanking of chains, and shrieks of slaves, the roar of muskets, the dying groans of slave-catchers, and their wounded associates, the bloodhounds; the last death-sigh of the murdered fugitives, will all rise from this earth and mingle with the archangel's voice, as he shall summon us all to the bar of final retribution. I would speak of the future with solemnity, but if men are to carry with them into the coming world their leading traits of character, as some hold, it would seem that their residence in the spirit world will be made vocal with the sighs, and groans, and shrieks of associated beings.

But both parties and their candidates are pledged to maintain this infamous law. And they will "*resist*" and "*discountenance*" all agitation in regard to it, "in Congress or out of it." The policy of silencing discussion upon it must be apparent to every man. The slaveholders demanded the passage of this law. Northern doughfaces submitted; some voted for it; others fled the Hall. They then knew it would be death to the measure and political obliteration to themselves to discuss it; and therefore voted against its discussion, against all agitation, and a *minority* of this body actually passed it under a previous question; and now Whigs and Democrats say it never shall be discussed. That, when our people of the North see a fellow-being seized, chained, dragged into Slavery, and sold and flogged, they shall say nothing about it here or elsewhere. That they shall look upon the murdered corpse of fugitives shot down by the agents of the government, and may moan over their barbarity, but they must not discuss, they must not agitate the repeal of this law. Well, sir, I assure them the people will discuss these things; they will hurl from power and from place the men who thus contemn the popular feeling.

But, it is said, through the Whig press, that we cannot repeal this law. I saw this morning an article, in some respects an able article, denouncing this law, in a Whig paper, professedly Anti-Slavery. The editor, however, admitted that the law would not be repealed, perhaps, for twenty years. Sir, the admission shows the author to be unconscious of the people's power.

It is this miserable, cowardly submission to the slave interest, which has degraded Northern men. Let the people send to this body forty members, whose hearts are devoted to freedom, who have confidence in the power of truth, and this law will be repealed in six weeks. It will be swept from our statute-book, and curses, deep and loud, will rest upon its authors.

The editor to whom I alluded proposes that we shall contribute from the national funds to pay for fugitives. I could have forgiven the editor for almost any other political offence. What, sir, are the descendants of the Pilgrims, of those who bled at Bunker's Hill, and on every battle-field of the Revolution, rather than to pay a paltry tax on tea and on stamped paper, supinely to become tributary to Southern task-masters? When the barbarians of Algiers seized and enslaved our people, we sent an armed force there and slew them, holding them unworthy of a place upon God's footstool. No, sir, by all the hallowed associations which cluster around the memory of English and American patriots, I avow and declare that I would sooner see every slaveholder in the nation hanged than to witness the subjugation of Northern freemen to such a humiliating condition. No, sir, when it comes to that, I, for one, shall be prepared for the *dernier* resort—an appeal to the God of battles. I am a man of peace, but am no non-resistant, and I would sooner the ashes of my hearth-stone should be slaked in my own blood, and the blood of my children, than to submit to such degradation. And here, I will take occasion to say, if this law remains in force, civil war is inevitable. The people will not submit to it. Why, sir, civil war already exists. At Christiana, civil war, with all its circumstance of force, under colour of law—resistance in defence of natural right—bloodshed and death, took place. In my own State a similar transaction occurred; and I assure gentlemen that other instances will occur if attempts be made to enforce that law. In my own district are many fugitives, who have informed their masters where they may be found. These men have become desperate. They desire to see the slave-catchers. They pant for an opportunity to make their oppressors "bite the dust." Sir, send on your commissioners, and deputy marshals, and bloodhounds, and I assure you that a civil war will soon be in active progress.

Sir, gentlemen talk of enforcing this law. *It cannot be done.* The people have already passed sentence upon it, and upon its authors; and that sentence will be speedily executed. Nor can you stop agitation in regard to it.

Agitation, discussion, and examination, are the agents—the instruments—for carrying forward all reforms. The Saviour of man spoke truths boldly. They fell harshly upon the ears of scribes, pharisees, and hypocrites. They denounced him as an agitator; seized, tried, condemned, and crucified him as an agitator. From that day to the present, every man who has boldly avowed truths unwelcome to the ears of despots, tyrants, and the oppressors of our race, have been denounced as agitators. Jefferson, in the Declaration of American Independence; Samuel Adams, in the Continental Congress; Washington, on the battle-field, were "*distinguished agitators;*" John Quincy Adams, while in this Hall, for years, maintained and defended, with inimitable powers, the right of petition, and was denounced throughout the country as an *agitator.* He was arraigned at the bar of this House, and tried as an agitator. Every member of this body who defends the rights of the people, is denounced as an agitator. To me, these epithets have lost their terrors.

For hundreds and for thousands of years, the instruction and elevation of mankind has been carried forward by agitation. By means of it, tyrants and despots have been driven from power, and popular rights have been extorted from barbarous rulers. Without agitation, no people ever gained their right, or retained them after they had been extorted from their oppressors. Now, suddenly, to prevent the progress of liberty, Whigs and Democrats unite to suppress this element in all reforms. They declare that discussion shall cease, and the Slave Trade and Slavery shall continue forever, and the Fugitive Slave Law shall be rendered perpetual.

Mr. Chairman, well do I recollect the evening after these laws had been passed. I then viewed them in all their horrors. I saw the degradation to which the people of the free States were subjected—the crimes which he had authorized. My heart sunk within me, as I contemplated the public men who had aimed this blow at liberty.

But, sir, on yonder avenue I heard the songs of drunken revelry and the insane shout; bonfires lighted up the heavens, and the thunder of cannon told the immoderate joy of slaveholders, slave-breeders, doughfaces, and dealers in human flesh. Their gratitude naturally flowed out to those most instrumental in the passage of these laws to which I have alluded, called the Compromise and Fugitive Law. In the fullness of their hearts and stomachs, they repaired to the dwelling of the Secretary of State, and called on him for a speech. He readily complied, commencing his congratulations by saying:

"Now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer." He then informed the motley crew around him, that this question of Slavery was settled, and that they were no more to be troubled with agitation. Sir, from that day up to the close of the Baltimore Convention, he wrote letters and made speeches declaring and avowing that agitation had ceased; assuring the country in substance that the Slave Trade in this District and in our Territories would go on undisturbed. That oppression here and in the territories now had nothing to fear. The whole energies of the Government were put forth to enforce the Fugitive Law; but they generally proved abortive. Every possible exertion was made in Boston and Philadelphia to convict those charged with obstructing its execution; but all failed. The blood of Gorsuch, a piratical slave-catcher, who fell at Christiana, is unavenged, in spite of the public treasure and Executive influence put forth to obtain a conviction of those who righteously slew him. The patriots who assisted Shadrach to escape the fangs of the Boston bloodhounds, yet laugh to scorn your infamous law. At Syracuse, at Rochester, and a hundred other places, the friends of liberty rejoice at the impotence of this law, although it has thus far been backed up by Executive power. These defeats of the executive, and of this enactment, libellously called a *law,* have resulted from *agitation;* and well may slave-catchers and doughfaces now seek to stifle discussion to silence the people.

Sir, while these things were going forward, the Secretary of State was looking for, and expecting, a return for the services he had rendered the slave power. The Presidential Chair and White House was looked to as the reward of his treason to God and humanity. But there again agitation had done its work: All reflecting men knew that he could not receive in the whole Union scarce twenty electoral votes. And when the Baltimore Convention passed upon his claims, not a Southern vote was cast for him. Chagrined, mortified and discontented, he will soon retire, and history will record the *truth* concerning him and us. But, sir, I will not aggravate the chills of political death, nor call up to mind the sins which must "sit heavy on his soul," when a darker night shall close around him.

Agitation has brought to the scaffold another conspicuous victim. The President of these United States lent his whole influence to the promotion of those compromise measures to which I have alluded. His devotion to the slave power has been openly and boldly avowed. Steadily and basely has he prostituted the influence and power of his office, to the purpose of supporting Slavery, oppression, and crime. At the Baltimore Convention, the slaveholders, I believe, were unanimously in his favour. But Northern delegates dared not support him. Agitation had informed the people of his having deserted their cause, and gone over to the enemies of freedom. The popular voice of the North had pronounced his doom; he was cast aside; the political grave yawns for him; and on the 3d of March he will be laid in it. Were I to write the epitaphs of these men, I would inscribe upon their tombs, "Killed by Agitation." Think you not that these men and their party have cause for their hostility to discussion—to the dissemination of truth?

The Democrats, also, have cause for opposing agitation. Their ablest, their most experienced statesmen have fallen victims to it. General Cass, the man who of all their candidates I deemed best qualified for the Presidency, in an evil hour signed a letter pledging himself to these compromise measures. It proved his political death-warrant, when, too late, he found that the people of the North would sustain no man who had thus pledged his influence of office to measures which the popular voice has condemned as *barbarous,* as disgraceful to our nation. At the Baltimore Convention his friends bore him to his political grave; and

> "Not a drum was heard, nor a funeral note,"

as they quietly deposited his remains in their final resting-place. Such, too, was the fate of Pennsylvania's favourite statesman. He had long been anxious to serve the slave interest. He pledged himself in the most unqualified manner to maintain these laws as a perpetual settlement of the slave question. But he, too, was cast aside at an advanced age, when he can look for no further preferment. *These men all died of "eating Southern dirt."*

Circumstances appear to render it indelicate for me to speak of other candidates of the Democratic party. Yet I would remind them all of the fate which must await those public men who prove false to liberty and humanity. I assure them and the country that agitation will continue and increase until the people of the free States shall be relieved from all participation in the disgrace and crimes of Slavery.

Agitation is the great and mighty instrument for carrying forward these reforms. Agitation is as necessary to purify the political atmosphere of this nation as storms are to purify the natural atmosphere. Deprive us of storms, of winds, and showers; and vapors, poisonous exhalations and miasmas would be around us, and we should inhale death in the unseen atmosphere. Such, too, is precisely the case in the political air of this nation. Stop agitation, and the political atmosphere will soon be filled with frauds, abuses, and corruptions, which would be inhaled by your Executive and public men; the vital blood of the nation would be poisoned, and the body politic would putrify.

But this opposition to freedom, so dominant in the Whig and Democratic parties, led to the organization of the friends of liberty into a separate political party in 1848. The extraordinary circumstances which then surrounded the advocates of freedom called together a mighty host. On the memorable ninth of August, of that year, fifty thousand freemen met in solemn convocation. They were men of distinction, men of intellect, statesmen, and philanthropists. They were conscious of the responsibility resting upon them. In framing a confession of their political faith they laid its foundations upon the enduring, eternal principles of justice. The equal right of all men to enjoy life, liberty, and happiness, constitutes the basis of our creed; and the next article asserts "that Governments are constituted among them to *secure their rights.*" All our action under the Constitution should be to protect the life and liberty of every human being within our exclusive jurisdiction. That our legislative powers in this District, on the high seas, and in our Territories, should be exerted to secure every being who bears God's image, in his right to life and liberty, instead of establishing and sustaining oppression and Slavery. Here, sir, at this point, an issue between us and the other parties, deep and broad, is presented. And from this position the friends of humanity will never depart.

It is an important fact, that neither the Whig nor Democratic party profess to pay any respect or attention to moral principles in their legislation. By their practice they deny the responsibility of human action, so far as politics are concerned. They hold that members of this body may pass laws which deprive our fellow-men of life or liberty, and that those who enact such laws are not morally guilty of enslaving or murdering their fellow-men. We, sir, hold that those who enacted the fugitive slave law are as guilty in the sight of God and good men as they would be were they themselves to seize a white man, place irons upon his limbs, and send him to Slavery without law. In such crimes, we, the advocates of freedom, will not participate. One of our resolutions adopted at Buffalo was in these words:

> "Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself *from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of Slavery wherever it possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject.*"

This resolution is in direct and unqualified conflict with the entire policy of the Whig and Democratic parties relative to Slavery. It is in conflict with the platforms of those parties to which I have called attention. Basing our whole political action upon the plainest principles of justice, liberty, and humanity, we challenge examination, discussion, *agitation.* We seek to cover up nothing, to keep nothing from the popular ear. The more you examine and discuss our doctrines and policy, the better are we pleased.

We, sir, would drive the slave question from discussion in this Hall. It never had a constitutional existence here. Separate this Government from all interference with Slavery; let the Federal power wash its hands of that institution; let us purify ourselves from its contagion—leave it with the States, who alone have power to sustain it; then, sir, will agitation cease in regard to it here; then we shall have nothing to do with it, our time will no more be occupied with it, and, like a band of freemen, a band of brothers, we could meet here, legislate for the prosperity, the improvement of mankind, for the elevation of our race.

Mr. Chairman, I have served in this Hall some fifteen years. During that period, I think at least two-thirds of the time of this body has been occupied by the subject of Slavery and other matters connected with that institution. For the last three years we can scarcely be said to have done anything else but discuss and legislate for Slavery. This, sir, is all wrong. Slavery is a local institution, existing only in a portion of the States. The attempt to nationalize it is unwarranted and unconstitutional. To do this is now the object of both the Whig and Democratic parties. Against these attempts we, the Free Democracy, wage unceasing, undying, unyielding hostility. This war we shall never give up. We shall never lay aside our arms until victory shall crown our efforts; until this Government shall be redeemed and disenthralled from the foul stain of chattel Slavery. Against oppression, in all its forms, and in all places, we have sworn eternal hostility. Our sympathy for suffering humanity is broad as creation, reaching to all climes, and embracing all who bear the image of our Creator. To persecuted Hungary we tender the assurance that "we feel for those in bonds as bound with them." On this subject the Democrats have spoken oracularly.

The Whigs talk about "entangling alliances and standing on foreign soil;" but they dare not take distinct issue on the propriety of exerting our moral power, our political influence to maintain the law of nations. Substantially, both Whigs and Democrats are opposed to us on this subject. They would permit Russia or Austria to swallow up Hungary without any protest or expression of our disapprobation. We sympathize with the oppressed of all nations; and we, the Free Democracy, literally constitute the party of progress. At Buffalo we adopted the policy of "*cheap postage for the people,*" and inscribed it upon our banner, and unfurled it to the breeze. We foresaw the advantages of increasing the facilities of communication among the masses, and determined to confer upon our country these benefits, while Whigs and Democrats were too timid to take a position either for or against it.

I am aware that we are often charged with being men of one idea—indeed, we are sometimes called the *party* of one idea—and I refer to these facts to vindicate ourselves from that charge. We dared go where neither of those parties were willing to follow us, nor to oppose us; and in less than three years the correctness of our position has been acknowledged before the country.

"Lands for the poor, homes for the destitute," free of expense to all who will emigrate to the West, was another article in our political creed. To this policy neither the Whig nor Democratic party dared express their consent, nor dared they oppose it. At this session a bill, carrying out our views on this subject, passed this body by a vote of nearly two to one. The Senate will doubtless comply with the popular will of the nation by passing this measure of benevolence, which will cause thousands of hearts to swell with gratitude and joy. Sir, the Free Democracy believe that Governments were constituted to protect, elevate, and render our race, our whole race, more happy. That it is our duty as statesmen, as philanthropists, as Christians, so far as we have constitutional power, "to raise up the bowed down," "to exalt the humble," "to inform the ignorant," "to comfort the distressed," and increase the prosperity and happiness of all who come within the sphere of our political, our moral, or our religious influence. Of course, we are hostile to those compromise measures which the Whigs and Democrats are pledged to sustain.

In 1848 nearly three hundred thousand freemen cast their votes for our Presidential candidate. Since that period our moral and political power has greatly increased. Probably one-third of the members on this floor are indebted to men who sympathize with us for their seats, and many were elected solely and entirely upon our principles. Three members of the Senate were elected as Free Democrats, while others are partially indebted to the votes of the Free Democracy. In several State Legislatures we hold the balance of power; but this is but little evidence of the rapidity with which our principles are extending. Our progress is marked by the change of feeling towards our doctrines in both the other parties; their hostility is diminishing daily; they are becoming acquainted with our views, and, of course, respect our motives. In all elections now throughout most of the free States, candidates are selected whose doctrines and principles are not obnoxious to us. The cloud which, in 1848, was like unto a man's hand in size, has now overspread the whole North, and will soon extend over the nation, and finally the world. But it is said that those friends in the State of New York, who came from the Democratic party, have returned to it. I deeply feel and deplore this fact. I loved and honoured them—I still respect them; but I must say that, in my judgment, they have erred in departing from us. I however, will not judge them—to their own masters they stand or fall. Had they continued with us, there is, in my opinion, no doubt that we should, in November next, have effected the election of a President favourable to our views. That they are friends of liberty, I know; that they sustain the doctrines laid down in the Democratic confession of faith, or vote for Pierce and King under the circumstances attending their nomination, I do not believe. I hope and trust they will yet feel the propriety of again acting with us. But while they are permitted to judge for themselves, they and all mankind will accord to us the same rights. The members of our party, generally, entered upon the organization with a deep feeling and conviction that such an organization was necessary. Time and experience has confirmed us in that opinion. I have stated the basis of our doctrines; they are permanent, *eternal* as God himself. While standing on those principles, we *cannot be wrong.* The political and moral regeneration of our country—the entire reformation of this Government from its practice of sustaining oppression, Slavery, any crime, is our object. To effect this great and hold purpose, must require time and perseverance. In what I have said and done on these questions I have but reflected the sentiments and feelings of those I represent—indeed, among them are many, very many, "older and *better* soldiers" than myself. That people, sir, will stand firmly, steadfast, and immovable upon the doctrines, and the organization which they have adopted.

I am aware of the arguments so often used to persuade Free Soilers to vote for this or that party, in order to gain some supposed temporary advantage. But, sir, we organized for the maintenance of doctrines important not merely to a township, a county, or a State, but to *man* wherever he is found. Important not merely to-day at this election, or next year, but *in all coming time.* Can we leave such a position to unite with either of the other parties in order to elect this or that man to office, while he stands pledged to maintain Slavery and the slave trade in this District and in our Territories? to continue the infamous fugitive law—to uphold and support all these measures as a *final* settlement of the subjects to which they refer, and to discountenance all examination, discussion, or agitation as to the propriety of these measures? Sir, were we to unite with either party to elect a President thus pledged, we should lose our own self-respect—we should lose the respect and confidence of the world. Politically, sir, we are "a city set upon an hill which cannot be hid." Throughout the country our influence is felt. In this Hall we wield a moral power far beyond our numbers. Let no man charge me with indelicacy when I assert that the Free Soilers of this body exert all the influence to which their numbers entitle them. Whigs and Democrats have confidence that we shall in all cases be guided by judgment, by reason, and justice, and not by the paltry consideration of *party.*

The effect has been most salutary. Ten years since no man here dared separate from his party. No matter what was the subject or his own judgment, every member was compelled to fall into line and vote with his party leaders. Free Soilers have set an example here of independence. The commencement of our trials on this subject was severe. We were frowned upon, villified, and denounced, but thank God! we had the firmness to bide our time, and now for years many Whigs and Democrats have followed our example and dared to vote as their judgments and consciences dictate. In short, sir, here party lines upon most subjects of legislation, have become obliterated. This of itself constitutes a great reform. Party lines are also becoming obliterated throughout the country, in consequence of the Free Democracy. This wide and extended influence must be surrendered if we vote for either of the other parties or their candidates.

At Baltimore a portion of the Whig party contended manfully against committing themselves to the outrages and crimes of the fugitive law and compromise measures. In that respect they did more than the Democrats. My sympathies and the sympathies of our party and of all good men were with them.

And had the Anti-Slavery Whigs in this House and the Senate promptly and energetically met the supercillious pretensions of the slave power with decision and firmness, I have little doubt they would have inspired a feeling at Baltimore which would have repudiated a platform that has stamped indelible disgrace upon their party. In this Hall the Democrats have sustained the constitutional rights of the free States more ably and faithfully than the Whigs have during the present session.

But I am aware that a strong effort is making to induce our Free Democracy to sustain the Whig candidate at the coming election. With the gentleman nominated I have long been acquainted. To him nor to the Democratic nominee have I any personal objection; but if elected, he is pledged to maintain the outrages, the revolting crimes pertaining to the compromise measures and fugitive slave law, to which I have called attention, to render them perpetual, so far as he may be able to prevent all discussion relating to them. To vote for him is to vote for this policy; to identify ourselves in favour of the avowed doctrines which he is pledged to support; to give proof by our votes that we approve the platform on which he stands. But, sir, why vote for Scott in preference to Pierce? Of the men I say nothing. They merely represent the doctrines of the parties who nominated them. If there be a difference between those parties, it is on the slave question. It can be found in nothing else.

The doctrines of the Whig party, as I have shown, pledge them and their candidate to maintain Slavery; the breeding of slaves for market; the sale of women in this District and in the Territories; to uphold the fugitive slave law in all coming time; to admit as many States as shall apply from New Mexico & Utah, and to silence discussion on all these subjects. This is as far, I think, as human depravity can go. If the Democratic party has dived deeper into moral and political putridity, some archangel fallen must have penned their confession of faith. If there be such a distinction, it can only be discovered by a refinement of casuistry too intricate for honest minds to exert. Sir, suppose there was a shade of distinction in the depths of depravity to which these parties have descended, does it become *men—free* men—men of moral principle, of political integrity—to be straining their visions and using intellectual microscopes to discover that shade of moral darkness? No, sir, let every man who feels that he has a country to save, a character to sustain—that owes a duty to mankind and to God—come forward at once, and wage a bold and exterminating war against these doctrines, so abhorrent to freedom and humanity.

But it is said that the Democratic party, if defeated again by the Anti-Slavery sentiment as they were in 1848, will disband, and the masses will then unite with us in support of justice, truth, and liberty. The defeat of the Democratic party might disband them, and it might not. There is no certainty on this point. If we were to unite with the Whigs, we might or might not defeat the Democrats. If we were to try the experiment and fail, Whigs and Democrats would despise us. We should despise ourselves. If we should succeed, we should become identified with the Whig party, and swallowed up by it. In every aspect in which I can view such a policy, we must lose the moral power which we possess. Standing upon elevated principles—professing, avowing, and proclaiming the political gospel which we present to the people—we cannot descend to mingle in such a contest without a sacrifice of that moral and political influence which now commands the respect of all honest men, and of our own consciences.

Mr. Chairman, I know not the course which the people whom I represent will pursue. From the past only can I judge of their future action. A residence of half a century among them has given me some knowledge of their character. Their past action on this subject is "known and read of all men." In 1840, when Mr. Van Buren pledged himself to veto any bill to abolish Slavery in this District, the county in which I reside gave the largest majority against him of any county in the United States in proportion to its numbers. In 1848, pledged to our doctrines, we gave the largest majority for him of any county in the United States. I mention this to show to the country that we are governed by *principle,* not by party—that we are not led by demagogues, by designing men.

That people do their own thinking and their own voting. They know their rights, and will maintain them so far as moral and political action on their part will do it. They are at all times prepared to discharge their duty. Sir, in 1848, there was more political effort made to induce our friends there to vote for the present Executive than was ever put forth on any other occasion. Distinguished gentlemen from other States of great ability, and of Anti-Slavery sentiments, were imported to show us the propriety of voting for men who feared to speak in favour of free principles. But those efforts failed, and few men can now be found who will admit that they ever cast a vote for the present Executive, a man who has prostituted the power of office to the support of Slavery and crime. Now they are to be called on to vote for men openly pledged and committed to the work of eternizing Slavery and the slave trade, and the fugitive law. Sir, I will leave the Free Democracy of the Reserve to speak for themselves. They have always done that. Nor am I authorized to speak for the Whigs or Democrats, although I have been supported for many years by a portion of both those parties; yet I will risk the opinion, that not one-half of either of those parties on the Reserve will be found voting for Scott and Pierce.

Sir, we are in the midst of a revolution. The two great parties are striving to convert this free Govern-

ment into a slaveholding, a slave breeding republic. Those powers which were delegated to secure liberty are now exerted to overthrow freedom and the Constitution. It becomes every patriot, every lover of freedom, every Christian, every *man*, to stand forth in defence of popular rights, in defence of the rights of the free States, of the institutions under which we live, in defence of our national character.

Sir, I am getting old; the infirmities of age are coming upon me. I must soon leave the scenes with which I am surrounded. The conflicts through which I have passed in this Hall are not of a character to inspire me with the desire to remain here. The performance of duty, though in an humble manner, has constituted my highest ambition. It is uncertain whether I shall again address this body; but one thing I ask, that friends or foes, here and elsewhere, in this and in coming ages, shall understand, that whether in public or in private life, by the wayside or fireside, in life or in death, I oppose, denounce, and repudiate the efforts now put forth to involve the people of the free States in the support of Slavery, of the slave trade, and their attendant crimes!

FREE SOIL CONVENTION AT WORCESTER.

We published last week, the Resolutions of this body, and we now copy, from the *Worcester Spy*, the letters read to the Convention from several distinguished members of the party, and the address to the people of the State. These various documents, we may presume, foreshadow the position which the National Free Soil Party will assume for the ensuing Presidential election:

Letter from Hon. Horace Mann.

WASHINGTON July 2d, 1852.

Hon. Edw'd L. Keyes.

DEAR SIR: By way of introduction, I can only repeat the common and stereotyped phrases, that I should be especially happy to be with you, but am detained by my duties here.

The Democratic and Whig Conventions have met at Baltimore, and both have *resolved* against all further discussion of the Slavery questions, anywhere, or in any form.

I am glad that Massachusetts is to make so early and so prompt a demonstration in defiance of those resolves.

So far as the freedom of speech is concerned, we need a new Declaration of Independence; and I trust your Convention will make it.

Having referred, with disapproval, to the Baltimore Conventions, I think it due to a portion of the one last held there, to quote a passage from the eloquent speech of the Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, made last week, in the House of Representatives, in which he says:

"At Baltimore, a portion of the Whig party contended manfully against committing themselves to the outrages and crimes of the Fugitive law and compromise measures. In that respect, they did more than the Democrats. My sympathies, and the sympathies of our party, and of all good men were with them."

This "portion," referred to by Mr. Giddings, numbered sixty-seven. Let us recognise fidelity to the cause of freedom wherever we find it. This is but justice, and justice is always good policy.

I regret exceedingly that neither of the great Conventions adopted such a platform of principles, that the true lovers of freedom for man, could stand openly and cordially upon it. Very truly yours,

HORACE MANN.

Letter from Hon. Charles Allen.

WASHINGTON, JULY 3d.

MY DEAR SIR: Not being able to accept your kind invitation to attend the Worcester Convention, I would gladly comply with your request, to give expression to my "views upon political subjects and duties." But, when I was about to enter upon a field so extensive I called to mind the probability that the Convention would be addressed in writing, by many absent friends of freedom, and that the brief hours, during which the Free Democracy of Massachusetts shall remain in council, will be too few even for the eloquent champions of our cause, who will be present to give utterance to their burning thoughts; I therefore forbear to address you but with brevity.

In congratulating the Convention upon the promptness and spirit with which the summons of the State Committee for the reassembling of the District Free Soil organization has been met, I indicate at once my sentiments respecting the condition of parties, and of the country, and the path of duty, which, in my judgment, the Free Democracy must tread, with firm and undeviating step. It can form no open alliances, it can give, with safety or honour, no secret aid to either of the old political parties, in the coming Presidential contest. Neither of those parties has entitled itself to the God-speed of any sincere opponent of the slave power. From many Democrats, before the great Convention of their party, the nation heard indeed brave words of defiance. High hopes were entertained that the hour of their redemption was at hand. But the result of the Baltimore Convention, and the general acquiescence of the party in its doings, have made it manifest that such a glorious era in its history, if it shall ever arrive, will beam on the uncertain future. The "PLATFORM," prepared and adopted with deliberate care, by the majority of the Convention, and acquiesced in with deliberate meanness, by a minority which had often declared its abhorrence of its principles, and the nomination of a New Hampshire politician, always, with a few bright exceptions, the synonym of political servility, is no more to be ascribed to accident than is the pointing of the needle to the pole.

The Whig party, so far as its avowed purposes indicate its character, can show no better claim than its ancient rival, to the sympathies or support of the friends of freedom, and of beneficent progress. I leave it to those logicians, whose wish is "father to the thought" to discover that better claim by a critical analysis of words and phrases, constituting the collection of sentences miscalled, by the Whigs at Baltimore, a declaration of "principles." To the unsophisticated and unbiased intelligence of the country, the parties stand on the same low level, and seek success by the same base means—humiliating compliance with all the demands of slaveholding arrogance. The Whigs, so far from possessing any title to favourable consideration, in one respect, may be said to place themselves in a more humiliating position even than their opponents. The latter do but "hold their own," while every succeeding year marks the steady progress of the Whig party in its dishonourable career. Four years ago, at Philadelphia, it bowed in silent shame to the behests of the Lords of the Lash; now, it eagerly proclaims its submission, and craves the reward due to unscrupulous servility.

But, sir, whatever might have been the delusive hopes heretofore indulged by any member of our party, that Northern Whigs would look beyond availability in their action at Baltimore, it is not to be supposed that any one can mistake the present attitude of that party. Still less is it to be credited that any one should venture to advise the Free Soil men of Massachusetts to take any position but that of uncompromising hostility, alike to the Whig and Democratic national organizations. Should such counsel, by possibility, be proffered at your Convention, he who tenders it will, I think, be taught a new lesson in Free Soil politics. He will discover that while we are ready to unite with either of the old parties, whenever it shall make itself independent of slaveholding dictation, it can receive no encouragement, from our action, to remain in its present attitude of hostility to freedom.

But, sir, lest I fail to redeem the pledge with which my letter was begun, I bring it, somewhat abruptly, to a close. My best wishes will be with the Convention, that every member may be firm, self-sacrificing, clear-minded to discern the way of safety, and faithful to pursue it. And, throughout the old Bay State, let every Free Soiler be watchful of the arts which every Presidential year brings into intensest exercise, distinguishing the lukewarm friend, and the time-serving politician from the steadfast, strong-hearted advocate of down-trodden humanity. When the smoke of the present contest shall have passed away, whatever may be the result of the Presidential election, he will see that he has done something for the advancement of a cause which, overcoming all obstacles, and beating down all opposition, will yet gild the brightest page of earth's history with its final triumph.

Yours truly, CHARLES ALLEN.

To Hon. E. L. KEYES.

Letter from Hon. Joshua R. Giddings.

WASHINGTON CITY, July 3d, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR: For the honour of your invitation to meet the friends of liberty in their Convention at Worcester, I tender to you and the Committee many thanks. It would have given me great pleasure again to have met the advocates of freedom at a place consecrated by the great Convention of 1848.

Permit me to congratulate the free democracy of Massachusetts upon the progress of our cause. The Whig and Democratic parties have been constrained to avow their principles. In effecting this, we have literally performed a *miracle*, by causing "*the dumb to speak*." The false pretences that there were principles involved in the controversy between those parties, is now made manifest to the world, by the record which they present. All now see that theirs is a war for plunder merely—a contest in which no patriot, no philanthropist can interfere.

In the onward progress of our cause, we have attained a point at which we may control the Presidential election. We may cause it to preponderate in favour of the Whig or Democratic parties, as we choose, and in this way we can determine whether the government shall be administered for the coming four years according to the Whig or Democratic platform. Of course, great efforts are now making, and will continue to be made, to induce us to throw our influence in favour of both those parties. But our organisation was not formed for the purpose of choosing between platforms whose aims and objects are the support of Slavery. I am sure that no friend of our cause will desire to choose between evils of such magnitude. In the paltry quarrel for spoils now going on between those parties, let no free soiler interfere.

Ours is the work of redeeming our country from the thraldom of oppression; the carrying into practice the doctrine of man's political equality; the right of all men to life and liberty; to purify the federal government from the contagion of Slavery. Let us stand by our professions; with a steady hand let us pursue the great work for which we associated. In doing this, we shall secure the nomination of a candidate at the next Presidential election, devoted to freedom—one whom we can support and whom the people will *elect*. Very truly,

EDW'D. L. KEYES, Esq. J. R. GIDDINGS.

Letter from Hon. Charles Sumner.

WASHINGTON, July 3, 1852.

DEAR SIR: The true and well-tried friends of freedom in Massachusetts, are about to assemble at Worcester. It will not be in my power to be with them; to enjoy the contagion of their enthusiasm; to be strengthened by their determination; and to learn anew, from eloquent lips, the grandeur of our cause and the exigency of our duties. But I confidently look to them for the trumpet words which shall again rally the country against the *sectionalism* of Slavery.

At Worcester, in 1848, commenced the first strong movement, which, gaining new force at Buffalo, and sweeping the free States, enrolled three hundred thousand electors in constitutional opposition to a hateful wrong. The occasion now requires a similar effort. Both the old parties, with an apostacy greater than that which aroused our condemnation at that time, have trampled on the Declaration of Independence and the most cherished sentiments of the Fathers of the Republic. Even liberty of speech is threatened. It is difficult to see how any person loyal to freedom, and desirous of guarding it by a constitutional means, can support the national candidates of either of these parties, without surrendering the cause which he professes to have at heart. Let no man expect from me any such surrender.

The two Conventions at Baltimore, by their recorded resolutions, have vied with each other in servility to Slavery. But I rejoice to believe that, in both parties, there are large numbers of good men who will scorn these professions. The respectable persistence in opposition to the Black Flag, which distinguished at least one of the Conventions, furnishes an earnest for the Future, though Massachusetts can derive small encouragement from her delegates there. All her votes in that Convention were cast in favour of those declarations, by which Slavery has received new safeguards and Freedom new restrictions.

But these efforts are doomed to disappointment. In spite of the clamours of partisans and the assumptions of the slave power, there is one principle which must soon prevail. It cannot be too often declared; for it is an all-sufficient basis for our political position, and also an answer to the cry of "sectionalism," by which the prejudices of the country have been ignorantly and illogically directed against us. According to the true spirit of the Constitution and the sentiments of the Fathers, *Freedom*, and not Slavery, is *national*, while *Slavery*, and not Freedom, is *sectional*. Though this proposition commends itself at once, and is sustained by the history of the Constitution, yet both the great parties, under the influence of the slave power, have revered the true application of its terms. A *national* Whig is simply a Slavery Whig, and a *national* Democrat, is simply a Slavery Democrat, in contradistinction to all who regard Slavery as a *sectional* institution, within the conclusive control of the States, and with which the nation has nothing to do. In upholding Freedom everywhere under the *national* government, we oppose a pernicious *sectionalism*, which falsely calls itself *national*. All this will yet be seen and acknowledged.

Amidst the difficulties and defections of the present moment, the Future is clear. Nothing can permanently obstruct Truth. But our duties increase with the occasion; nor will the generous soul be deterred by the greatness of the peril. Any such will be content to serve Freedom, to support her supporters, and to leave the result to Providence. Better be where Freedom is, though in a small minority or alone, than with Slavery, though surrounded by multitudes—whether Whigs or Democrats—merely contending for office and place.

Believe me, dear sir, ever faithfully yours.

HON. E. L. KEYES. CHARLES SUMNER.

Letter from Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

WASHINGTON, July 2.

DEAR SIR—I have received your letter, inviting me in behalf of the Free Democratic State Committee, to attend the Convention of the Free Democracy of Massachusetts, to be held at Worcester, on the 6th inst., and requesting of me, in case of inability to accept this invitation, some expression of my views upon political prospects and duties.

Engagements here preclude the possibility of my attendance at Worcester, and the Massachusetts Free Democracy has proved itself so clear in its understanding, and so devoted to the performance of its political duties, that any expression of my views on that subject, seems quite superfluous.

Nor is it needful that I say a word as to political prospects. Indeed, I do not pretend to discern, with any clearness, even what lies nearest in the future. Of this only am I absolutely certain. Truth and Right must prevail. Their triumph may be postponed, but it must come. Sham and wrong must cease. They may endure for awhile, and even seem strong and permanent, but they will vanish away. Slavery, therefore, must perish, and all combinations to uphold it will be broken.

For this result, with the least admixture of evil, I have looked, and still look to the Democracy of the Union. The principles of the Democracy, promulgated by Jefferson, and deeply sealed in the convictions of the people, faithfully and wisely applied to those questions of Slavery, which have now come to be of paramount importance, and imperatively demand a final and constitutional settlement, would accomplish that great end, securing and establishing the rights of men, without invading the rights of the States.

We cannot, however, shut our eyes to the fact that there is a POWER in our country, outside of the Democracy, and, in many respects, antagonistic to the Democracy, the aid of which has been thought essential to the success of its national candidates, and purchased not unfrequently by marked sacrifices of Democratic principles. I refer, of course, to the Slave Power, which, for years past, has been suffered to dictate the organization, rules, platforms, and nominations of our National Democratic Conventions. Its adherents declaring in advance, their determination to support no candidates, whether nominated by the Convention or not, who should favour any application of Democratic principles which would endanger its ascendancy, and insisting upon the adoption of a rule which enables them to defeat any nomination not entirely satisfactory to themselves, have hitherto exerted an effective control over the results of these party Conventions. This power is essentially aristocracy, and even oligarchic. Continued submission to it is incompatible with the permanent existence of earnest Democracy.

The advocates of submission, however, will be numerous, and the motives of submission, powerful, so long as party success is thought to be secured by it. But let there once be called into existence a counter power, which will demand the faithful application of Democratic principles to all questions, including the great question of Slavery, as the condition of support to national nominations, so that sacrifice will prove more dangerous than the maintenance of principles, and the advocates and the motives of submission will disappear altogether.

Such a counter power may be found in an independent Democracy, which, acting cordially with the rest of their Democratic brethren, when they can, without compromising principle, will, nevertheless, steadily refuse to do so, when such action will involve such compromise. Such an independent Democracy, to maintain its title to confidence, must be unwavering in its support of Democratic measures, and in its adhesion to Democratic principles, and never enter into inconsistent alliances with the antagonists of Democracy.

At the present moment the need and importance of such an organization seems very manifest. The Slave Power, springing from the Slave interest, has dictated the platform and nominations of the Democratic party at Baltimore. It has foreshadowed, by the expulsion of Robert Rantoul from that body, the proscription, by the administration of its nominees in the event of their election, of all Free Soil Democrats who have not recanted and will not recant their professions. There is, then, in my judgment, no honourable choice left to those Democrats, who, while they mean to abide faithfully by all the provisions of the Constitution, yet love freedom too well, and hate despotism too sincerely, to be willing to accept the compromise of 1850 as a final settlement of the Slavery question, or engage themselves to the execution and maintenance, in all its despotic stringency, without repeal or essential modification, of the unjust, cruel, and unconstitutional Fugitive Slave Law, or pledge themselves to a crusade against freedom of speech and freedom of the press. They are shut up by fidelity to Democratic principles, as well as by personal interest and self-respect, to the rejection of the nominees, as well as the platform of the Convention. The nominees, of whom I would say nothing inconsistent with high personal respect, represent their platform, and would thank none for attributing to them any purpose of administration, not entirely in harmony with its spirit and policy.

In accordance with these views I propose to act. The path of duty lies clear before me. I cannot support the nominees of the Baltimore Convention. Nor can I act with any party hostile or indifferent to Democratic principles. But with an independent Democracy—with what one of your own noble-hearted statesmen has so happily called a Democratic Democracy. I am prepared to stand and do faithful battle for freedom, until the whole Democracy of the country shall become satisfied that consistent and impartial adhesion to principles is safer as well as more honourable than inconsistent submission to the demands of a special interest.

With the best wishes,

Your fellow-citizen,

HON. E. L. KEYES, Chairman. S. P. CHASE.

ADDRESS.

To the voters of Massachusetts.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The representatives of the Free Soil party of Massachusetts, assembled in Convention at Worcester, desire to lay before you some statements of their position and their views.

Four years have passed since, on a similar occasion, a similar Convention of friends of the American Constitution, and of the freedom which it was designed to secure, assembled in this place. In the minds of patriotic men attached to the two great parties of the country, a sentiment had long been maturing of discontent, and disgust, at the encroachments of the slave power, and at the control which it had established over the action of those parties. It was felt that the time had come for organized resistance to its further usurpations. Good and wise men, lovers of the right, and of the country, in other States sympathised in the anxieties, and in the purposes which the condition of public affairs so naturally called forth. And, in the Presidential election which followed, 297,000 American citizens, including 38,000 citizens of Massachusetts, declared by their votes their fixed determination to defy and defeat the slave power.

The slave power took the alarm, and put forth all its strength for a final effort. It has had a deplorable though temporary success, and worse than we feared has come upon us. Availing itself to the utmost, of the practised skill of its adherents, and of the treachery of others, who had been relied upon for opposition, it has won triumphs, within the last three years, far surpassing any it had ever achieved before. The surrender of 70,000 square miles of free territory to Texas and Slavery, and the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, signified and sealed the prostration of the two great parties of the country at its feet.

Deception was the great instrument by which these triumphs were achieved. The present administration obtained power through the credit given to the representations of its friends in the free States, that it would not be hostile to liberty, but would, on the contrary, sincerely oppose the extension of Slavery. "We will join the Southern Whigs to choose a President," was the language of four years ago in Massachusetts, "and then upon the Slavery question will vote them down." "Who imagines," it was asked by Rufus Choate, in a speech at Salem, "that Mr. Webster could get a vote in Massachusetts, if it was not known that he was true to the Wilmot Proviso?"

What we have desired above all things else, amidst the anxieties and discouragements of this conflict, has at length come to pass. The time for deception is over. The mask is thrown off. The true issue is boldly met. The leaders and representatives of both the great parties, at length expressly avow the policy of submission to the behests of Slavery. We call them two parties. But if principles are what divide parties, henceforward they are only one. They are one party, with two sets of candidates. Numerous as they are, they are but two factions, each emulating the other in endeavours to establish such a condition with the Slave power, as shall enable it to grasp the emoluments of office. Whichever faction succeeds, if their pledges are redeemed, the business of the country will be conducted in essentially the same manner, the difference will be, that, as one or the other succeeds, the profits of the public service will be enjoyed by one or another set of men.

We call you to witness, fellow citizens, that it is the same policy, in respect to the only great question now before the country, which has been avowed by both the Conventions recently assembled at Baltimore, and that such differences as there are, either relate to obsolete or comparatively unimportant questions, or else consist in merely different degrees of explicitness or obscurity of statement.

The rule of the dominant party, in both its component factions, Whig and Democratic, is the *Protection of Slavery*. The *spirit* of both is the maintenance of an arbitrary and despotic factional preponderance.

The rule of the Free Soil party, is the *Protection of Right and Freedom*. Its spirit is the maintenance of an upright and benignant republicanism, acting equally over all sections of the Union.

For the first step the two platforms alike adopt the same truism.

Whig.	*Democratic.*
The Government of the United States is of a limited character, and it is confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted by the Constitution, and such as may be necessary and proper for carrying the granted powers into full execution, and that all powers not granted or necessarily implied, are expressly reserved to the States respectively, and to the people	"1. That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

And both alike proceed from it to the same monstrous paradox.

Whig.	*Democratic.*
8th. That the series of acts of the 31st Congress, the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law included, are acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States, as a settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace, and so far as they are concerned, we will maintain and insist upon their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation *to guard against the evasion of the law on the one hand, and the abuse of their powers on the other—not impairing their present efficiency*; and we deprecate all further agitation of the questions thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, and however the attempt may be made, and we will maintain this settlement as essential to the nationality of the Whig party of the Union.	That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of Slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions. "Resolved, That the foregoing resolution covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of Slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by, and adhere to, a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures settled by the last Congress, "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labour" included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency. "Resolved, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or colour the attempt may be made."

In this Constitution, establishing a government "of limited powers," demanding to be "strictly construed," —in this Constitution, establishing a government "of a limited character, and confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted," Whigs and Democrats pretend that they find some grant of power to pass such an enactment of the Fugitive Slave Bill. We are not now going to argue that this bill has no authority from the Constitution, and is in conflict with some of its most express provisions. Our present object is to ask your attention to the agreement between Whigs and Democrats in relation to it.

They farther agree that they will prevent us from agitating by the expression of our dissent—an article in the contract which we mean to make difficult of execution. We claim, and shall insist upon the unrestricted exercise of free speech, against the greatest stretch of Federal authority yet attempted over the rights of the States. We deny all power on the part of any men, or combinations of men, to carry out the spirit of these resolutions in any definite force of national action, and we will never rest in our efforts to produce a re-establishment of the principle, that the right to extend over the Free States the slave law of the slave States, is not among those granted, or implied in the constitutional compact.

Those resolutions were not passed for nothing. Nor is it their object merely to catch Southern votes. They are eminently a practical measure. They determine the action of the coming administration. And this their Southern prompters well understand. Not by strong application only, but by positive engagement, the candidates of the respective parties have pledged themselves to carry out the policy which those resolutions express. Cabinet ministers, judges, and other influential officers, are to be appointed to that end. The corrupting patronage of the Government, in its whole extent, is to be used for the outrageous purposes of that greedy power, which has extorted the pledge, and will insist on its extreme fulfilment.

To this transcendentally impudent assumption of perpetuity to the Fugitive Slave Law, and imposing silence upon us, who detest its iniquity and writhe under its disgrace, there was a show of opposition to us in the Whig Convention. *But not from the Puritan State.* Whig Massachusetts laid down her head in the dust with the lowliest. From New York and from Ohio, many of the delegates shook themselves clear, as far as a vote could do it. From Massachusetts not one vote. Two years ago, Massachusetts Whigs complained of the treachery of Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster, so loud that they seemed sincere. Now, all is over. Whig Massachusetts stands united in the van of the tramplers upon the Law and Right, upon Reason, Mercy, and Religion.

Agreeing upon this great question, which, in these times, underlies and determines all others, the professed differences between the two factions on other points are scarcely worth consideration.

Whig.	*Democratic.*
6th. The Constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbours, and remove obstructions from navigable rivers. It is expedient that Congress should exercise such power whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defence, and for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations, or among the States—said improvements being, in every instance, national and general in their character.	2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements. 3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

The Free Soil Party looks beyond this verbiage to the plain constitutional principle which decides the question. The principle of the Constitution and of the Free Soil party is, that the Government was not made to favour special privileges and local objects. Applied to the case of river and harbour improvements, that principle dictates that where such improvements would be for the advantage of the whole people, there is a legitimate sphere for the cautious and beneficent legislation of Congress.

Whig.	*Democratic.*
5th. Revenue, sufficient for the expenses of an economical administration of the Government, should, in time of peace, be derived from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxation; and in laying such duties, sound policy requires a just discrimination, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry equally to all classes, and to all parts of the country.	4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion of our common country; and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

Here is no more, on either side, than a parade of ostentatious words. The Free Soil Party demand deeds. They maintain that there is no "equality of rights and privileges" recognised by either of the great organizations. For proof of this, they appeal to 1, The preponderance of the Slave interest, which is embodied and made operative in, 2, the character of national legislation, 3, the influence of the Executive Department; 4, the tone of judicial decisions. In some of the States, many of the citizens of Massachusetts are held to have no rights; and their "persons and property" have no protection whatever "from domestic violence."

Whig.	*Democratic.*
3d. That while struggling freedom everywhere enlists the warmest sympathy of the Whig party, we still adhere to the doctrines of the Father of his Country, as announced in his **Farewell Address**, of keeping ourselves free from all entangling alliances with foreign countries, and of never quitting our own to stand upon foreign ground; that our mission as a republic is not yet to propagate our opinions, or impose on other countries our form of Government, by artifice or force; but to teach, by example, and to show by our success, moderation and justice, the blessings of self-government, and the advantages of free institutions.	8. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alied and sedition laws from our statute books.

The Democratic party professes liberality to all the oppressed abroad, while it makes itself the emulous instrument of the most detestable oppression at home. The Whig party trusts to the force of an example, while it makes anything but a generous or attractive one. It is only the Free Soil party that can consistently profess to hate oppression, and at home and abroad can adopt the same rule of action. Sympathizing with all the struggles of the noble and manly hearts of other climes, it will not be deaf to the claims of those at home. The mission of the country is that of *peace and good will to men*. We seek to introduce the agency of a moral power which shall check the disposition to violence and injustice, alike in foreign and in domestic tyrants. We disclaim alike, in both cases, all hasty resorts to force, and interference with the internal affairs of States, while we declare, and in all circumstances will maintain, that the true ends of government are to fortify and promote freedom, and not to enforce restraint.

Democratic.

"Resolved, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the constitution."

Looking at the secondary question of the public lands from the same point of view as at other public questions, we consider them less as a source of pecuniary profit than as a nursery of valuable citizens. The mode by which they should be made the most serviceable to citizens of all the States, would be the mode most accordant with our policy. The conditions of distribution at nominal prices should be equality to all, without distinction of colour or race, who are disposed to occupy and improve them, and the establishment of freedom as the act, in every part of the national territories.

In the same spirit, the Free Soil party would meet every question of national importance, more or less prominent—the spirit of Liberty as contrasted with that which rules in the Whig and Democratic councils. Claiming no such rights to interfere with Slavery as they pretend to exercise for its protection, we demand that it be driven out of the national government, as an active element of mischief. Our fundamental doctrine is, the necessity of a total divorce of Slavery from all the departments of administration. The Post Office, Patent Office, the Army and Navy, every part of the machinery of government, should be devoted to the protection of republican freedom, and the development of the resources of a free people—not to the humiliation and subjection of the greater number for the exaltation of the less.

ISAAC T. HOPPER—THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.—We inadvertently omitted to notice in our last a meeting held in the Bethel (coloured) Church, on Sunday evening, the 27th ult. for the purpose of hearing an address from LUCRETIA MOTT upon the Life and Anti-Slavery labours of the lamented ISAAC T. HOPPER. We were not present, but we learn from others that the meeting was large, and the address deeply interesting. Many aged coloured people were present who had known the revered Philanthropist during his residence in this city, and who eagerly embraced this opportunity to pay a tribute to his memory. Mrs. Mott's sketch of the faithful labours of friend Hopper for the freedom and elevation of the people of colour was fitted at once to awaken the gratitude of her auditors and encourage them to renewed efforts for their own advancement in knowledge and virtue. It was very natural that, in tracing the life of a man whose religion consisted in love to God and doing good to man, she should take occasion to warn her hearers against that hateful and deadly sectarianism which substitutes zeal for forms and a tenacious adherence to creeds for that Practical Righteousness which Jesus so constantly enjoined as the one essential feature of his religion. Her remarks on this subject were timely, and we hope they did not fail to make a deep impression upon those who heard them.—*Pa. Freeman.*

——MR. LOCKE, of the *Savannah Republican*, in one of his recent letters from Europe, says: "We had as a cure guest at Græfenburg during the two or three months of last winter a celebrity—no less a person than Gen. Haynau, whose long moustaches call to mind Perkins & Barclay's brewery. He may be now 60 years of age. His step is feeble, his beard and mustache white, and his mouth has constantly a mumbling kind of nervous action. He came to Græfenburg with dropsy in his feet, and went away cured—or apparently so. He is a man of iron nerves—cruel and relentless, and to the credit of the Austrian officers, it should be said, generally detested. He is by birth an illegitimate son of the Duke of Hesse Cassel. Notwithstanding the cruelties he perpetrated in Hungary, he has bought an estate there for 100,000 florins, and if I am correctly informed, he is not disliked by his tenantry. After his campaigns in Italy and Hungary, he received 400,000 florins (some say 500,000) from the Austrian Government, which, however, declined conferring upon him the title of Field Marshal. The unhappy town of Brescia, in Italy, will bear enduring traces of his cruelty and ferocity. * * Really, the life of such a man as Haynau presents a pretty strong argument in favour of a very tangibly hot place in the world to come. The old soldier went through his cure most heroically though. He took 30 cold wet sheets a day, and would allow no fire in his room in December. His bath servant says he only paid him a florin a week. The cure guests generally pay 1½ florins a week for not one-fifth part the attention which he received."

——THE *Springfield Republican* says that Horace Mann is to be President of Antioch College, Ohio, the corner stone of which was laid on the 23d inst. This College is the result of a united effort of the whole denomination of people called New Lights, or Christians, throughout the country and is now endowed with $200,000 in scholarships, at $100 each. The buildings are being erected upon the most extensive plans, and when completed, will be the largest and most imposing in the State.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

††† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1852.

COLONISATION AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

WE referred, some time since, to a bill which Mr. Stanley, of North Carolina, had given notice he intended to introduce into the House of Representatives at Washington, and we copied, last week, from the *Boston Commonwealth*, some deserved strictures upon its object. That object, we fear, is either not generally understood, or that it is not attracting the attention it demands. It may not, perhaps, be frustrated, and the slave power may, in this, as in every thing else, by the aid of Northern subserviency, attain its end. But the character of the act, at least, may be exposed; and Anti-Slavery newspapers and Anti-Slavery lecturers speak, in the aggregate, to a vast number of the people who are not yet pursuaded of an Anti-Slavery duty, but who may be taught by this how the power of the General Government is prostituted to the support of the Southern System, and how they, by their representatives, are made responsible for its worst deeds.

The title of this Bill of Mr. Stanley's is harmless enough. It purposes merely to distribute the fourth instalment of the public money with the several States. Perhaps, it was thought that no examination would be made of the character of the bill, by the people, beyond the title; or that the absence of its real purport in that title might serve as an excuse with Northern representatives for giving it their votes. At any rate, it is only by the several articles of it that we learn what it is proposed to do. It is to give the public money of the United States to the several States on condition that they will ship their free coloured people to the coast of Africa; if they will not do this, they are to have none of it. The distribution of the public funds at all has been a Constitutional question; to give them to Virginia because she agrees to make a certain use of them, and refuse them to Massachusetts if she should decline to make that use, might give use to still stronger Constitutional doubts. That, however, is a matter of little moment. While the Constitution is only valued for its authority to catch runaway slaves, it is of little consequence what else it may enjoin or prohibit.

There are two or three things about Liberia that may be considered as settled, whether we look at it as a political, a philanthropic, or a missionary enterprise. In either case it is deserving of nothing but reprobation or contempt. It is a feeble and half-starved colony of emancipated slaves, who, unused to responsibility and self-control at home, are sent there to be got rid of and to worry out their few remaining days in a struggle with coast-fever and a want of rice, their principal food. The evidence that they have encouraged and engaged in the slave trade has never been disproved, and that they rarely come in contact with the natives, except in the most savage warfare, has never been contradicted. It has answered admirably the purpose for which it was designed—a place to which free blacks could be sent with a certainty that they could not return, and a probability that a large proportion of them would die, and the rest of them sink into the state of barbarism by which they were surrounded.

To make it answer that purpose better, this bill is designed. If the Slave States could be sure that without cost to themselves, they could send to swift destruction, or to a wretched and lingering life, all the free blacks within their borders, they would doubtless soon enact laws compelling such an exodus of these poor people. The slaveholders wish to be rid, on any terms, of this "dangerous element" in their social condition. All that is wanting is the means, and that the bill gives them. Perhaps some of the Northern States may refuse to receive the money on the condition proposed. In that case, probably the next step would be to give the amount to those States that will accept it with the condition. This would be to give an annual fund of about *half a million of dollars* to be used in expelling the free blacks from this country; and even now the smallest amount given annually to any Slave State for this purpose is nearly five thousand dollars, and the largest amount is nearly forty thousand dollars. And this money, be it remembered, belongs to the whole United States, and for its use—expatriating free blacks, that Slavery may be strengthened—the whole country is responsible.

The Bill has not yet become a law, but it has been introduced to the House by Mr. Stanley. The probability is that it will be pushed through before this session closes. The slaveholders, however quiet they may be about it, are earnestly at work for it. Petitions are in circulation in Baltimore urging its passage. The recent Conventions there are not understood as prohibitory of this sort of Agitation.

The Bill itself we subjoin, as published, from an authentic source, in the *Maryland Colonisation Journal*. That periodical thinks "one universal aye!" from the people of the United States would respond to the question, 'Shall this bill pass?' We can assure it that it would not be altogether unanimous, to say nothing of the several millions of people who are most concerned in it.

A Bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit with the several States, the fourth instalment of the deposites of the public money directed to be made with said States by the Act approved June 23, 1836.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be and he hereby is authorized and directed to deposite, as hereinafter mentioned, with those that received the previous instalments, the fourth instalment of the deposites of public money, directed to be made with said States, under the provisions of the thirteenth section of the act approved the twenty-third day of June, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, in sums to which each State was entitled respectively, to wit:

With the State of	
Maine	$318,612 75
New Hampshire	223,028 93
Massachusetts	446,057 86
Rhode Island	127,445 10
Connecticut	254,890 20
Vermont	223,028 93
New York	1,338,173 57
New Jersey	254,890 20
Pennsylvania	955,838 26
Delaware	95,583 83
Maryland	318,612 75
Virginia	732,809 34
North Carolina	447,919 13
South Carolina	350,474 03
Georgia	350,474 03
Alabama	223,028 93
Louisiana	159,306 38
Mississippi	127,445 10
Kentucky	477,919 13
Tennessee	477,919 13
Ohio	669,086 78
Missouri	127,445 10
Indiana	286,751 48
Illinois	159,306 38
Arkansas	95,583 83
Michigan	85,583 82

Which several sums amount in the ag. to $9,367,214 98

Sec. 2d. *And be it further enacted*, That to carry into effect the provisions aforesaid, for the purposes hereafter mentioned, the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to cause to be prepared a certificate of stock for each State, containing the amounts as specified in the first section, to be deposited with it, signed by said Secretary, and countersigned by the Register of the Treasury, bearing an interest of five per centum per annum, payable half-yearly on the first day of January, and on the first day of July, commencing on the first day of ——, in the year——.

Sec 3. *Be it further enacted*, That this deposite is to be made with said States to transport to Liberia in Africa, the free people of colour within said States respectively, and to provide for and to educate said people, as each State entitled to the stock may direct. And when any State aforesaid, by an act for that purpose, shall agree to accept the deposite and appropriate the interest accruing thereon for the purposes aforesaid, or either of them, the said Secretary of the Treasury, on being notified thereof by any authenticated copy of the act, shall deliver to the Governor of said State so accepting said deposite, the certificate of stock prepared for said State, in manner aforesaid, or to such other officer as the State may designate.

Sec 4. *Be it further enacted*, When a State that accepts the said stock shall thereafter decline or omit to appropriate and expend the interest, "according to the true intent and meaning of this act," the interest on said stock so deposited with that State shall cease so long as the State shall thus decline or omit to carry this act into effect.

Sec. 5. *Be it further enacted*, The principal of said stock is not to be paid without the express direction of Congress.

Sec. 6. That when said States shall have removed all such free persons of colour residing in their respective borders, as herein before mentioned, then the balance of the money to which they are entitled shall be appropriated by said States to the education of the poor, or to internal improvements within their respective borders, as to each State shall seem right and proper.

TRUTH FROM AN UNQUESTIONABLE QUARTER.

THE old Latin maxim, that it is right to learn from an enemy, is always applicable when a slaveholder is prompted, by any motive, to speak the truth. Not that their false statements, and arguments, and deductions, in defence of their own cause, are never instructive; but that the truth, when they do condescend to give it, commands ready belief, coming from that quarter, and is, therefore, the more valuable. We have a case in point at this moment.

Mr. Benton, of Missouri, has, for the last year or two, been placed, by political circumstances, in opposition to his old political party. That, of course, is, as a Southern party, necessarily pro-slavery, and, as it happens, in this case, to that degree as to have a proclivity towards Disunion. Its readiest and most effective charge against Mr. Benton is an accusation of inclining to Anti-Slavery, against which he defends himself as he best can, which has certainly been well enough. In some respects, the defence is negative, by showing that their zeal in behalf of Slavery is altogether uncalled for, Slavery being in no danger, and that, therefore, his attitude of seeming coldness and apathy is only that of a man who does not choose to waste his strength in fighting shadows. In such a line of defence, the cause of Anti-Slavery is sure to be the gainer, whatever or whoever else may lose; and it is under no less an obligation to the party compelling it than to the man who makes it.

Mr. Benton, having failed to be returned to the Senate, has put himself before his fellow-citizens as a candidate for a seat in the lower House of Congress. He has recently made a speech to the people of St. Louis, in his own behalf, in which he shows that age has dimmed nothing of the fire of his intellect, and the coldness and opposition of old friends have abated nothing of his spirit and vigour. From this speech we make a brief extract, full of that truth which Abolitionists are always teaching, and which a lecturer might use, on the authority of Benton, to clinch the assertions of a whole evening's address. He is speaking of certain resolves passed by his opponents in Missouri.

NORTH NOT AGGRESSIVE.

First, the resolve which charges the Northern States with aggressions and encroachments upon the slave property of the South, and a design to abolish Slavery in the States. This is false, and wicked, and is proved to be so by the conduct of those States in the Congress of the United States. So far from such aggression and encroachment, and from any such design, the fact is, that the area of Slavery has been doubled in the United States, and by the help of the free States, during the last thirty years, and the greater part of it since this cry was first promulgated in 1835.

Remember, the Northern States have been a majority in the House of Representatives during all that time, and without votes from them no law extending slave territory could be passed; and were equal in the Senate, where the ratification of treaties require two-thirds of the body, and where, consequently, no treaty increasing slave territory could be ratified without a heavy vote from them. This being remembered, let us see what has been done in this line since this cry began. Florida, large enough for a State of the first magnitude, has been acquired by treaty, and added to the slave States of the South. Texas, given away by a Southern administration in 1819, has been recovered back by treaty in 1847, and has territory, and a compact, for the admission of four slave States. The Platte country in Missouri, made free soil by the compromise act of 1820, has been added to the State, and made into slave soil by law, and by Indian treaties of 1837. So much for the acquisition of foreign slave territory; now for its increase within the States.

The State of Missouri, excluded from the use and occupation of the south-west quarter of her territory by the incumbrance of an Indian population, has seen those Indians removed by treaties; and Slavery extended to a large district where it did not exist before. Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, each with near one-half of their territory incumbered with Indians, have had them removed by treaties, and their slave soil nearly doubled. Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Arkansas, Louisiana, all more or less similarly incumbered, have been similarly relieved; so that, in addition to fresh acquisitions of slave territory from foreign countries (enough for five States), nine existing slave States have nearly had their slave area doubled within the last few years, all by the indispensable help of Free Soil votes, and at a great expense of money—I guess more than fifty millions of dollars—and the Indian wars resulting from the execution of the treaties costing, perhaps, as much more—Florida Indian wars costing about twenty millions.

Now, not one inch of this foreign slave territory could have been acquired, not one individual of those Indians could have been removed, not one acre of their Indian land could have been converted into slave land, nor one dollar of all this hundred millions could have been voted, except by the help of nonslaveholding votes; so that the resolve standing upon our journal, charging on the free States encroachment and aggression on slave property, and a design to abolish Slavery in the States, is not only without evidence, but against evidence, is false upon its face—proved so by public history—and a disgrace to the State to have been put on its journals.

Another test, not less evident and conclusive, is at hand to prove the same thing; and that is the present price of slaves—higher than it ever was before—nearly doubled since the alarm of the destruction of slave property began—and is still increasing, and will go on increasing, until the impending explosion of the paper system shall again depress the price of all property, slave property among the rest; and then the disunionists can charge it upon the abolition movements of the free States. Let this price of slaves be compared with the woful lamentations—the crocodile tears shed—over the downfall of their price, the ruin of all property, the desolation of the South—which was to result from "Northern aggression and encroachment," which loomed so largely in that 8th of January eulogy which was the entering wedge to the Missouri secession resolutions.

CLEARED AWAY.

HON ROBERT RANTOUL, of Massachusetts, has concluded to pocket the insult offered to him, and in him to his District, by the Baltimore Democratic Convention, and to pocket with it many other things beside. We copied, a few weeks ago, his speech in Congress, wherein he proclaimed the indignity that had been put upon him and his constituents, and assigned therefor his position upon the question of Slavery, and particularly of the Fugitive Slave Law. It was, as we then said, a cloud no bigger than a man's hand in the Democratic horizon, which it was well enough to watch out of sight, or to see whether it brought any sort of a shower. It is dispersed at length, and the honourable gentleman has proclaimed all fair weather again in a late speech at Lynn. If his constituents in Essex county were aggrieved at the cavalier treatment awarded to him at Baltimore, how do the Free Soil portion of them feel at that which they are now receiving at his hands?

In the speech referred to, he said:

A question arises then, and it is a pretty important one (though I do not know as it will trouble you to decide it, and it certainly will not trouble me), and that is, what course ought we, as Democrats, to take in the coming Presidential election?

Let me allude to the Baltimore Convention, in which you are all interested. I do not speak of my own interest. That is a small matter. But it so happens that I stood there representing the rights of the Second Congressional District [applause] and representing, in part, the rights of the sovereign and independent State of Massachusetts [cheers]. You all know that an outrage was committed upon those rights. You all know that a *fraud*, a gross and base fraud, was perpetrated upon the Convention [applause]. I do not say that that Convention, with their eyes open, and knowing what they were doing, meant to insult this district. I say that a very large part of them were imposed upon. Some few, I believe, *meant* to outrage this district. Others, and a large number, were imposed upon by frauds industriously circulated among them ["shame, shame"].

Now, does that outrage, perpetrated upon this district—does that denial to this district of its rights—does the denial to the State of Massachusettes of its rights, alter our position with regard to the great Democratic party? It does seem to me that if I go to a convention,

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

and take part in the doings of that convention, and do not withdraw from it, I may be supposed to be bound by that convention. If I am not there, and not represented there, then I am not bound by it. I am not at all bound by anything that has been done in the Baltimore Convention.

The action of the Convention places me in the attitude of a looker-on. What ought I to do? Here is a Presidential election coming on. I have already told you what are the great political issues involved in this contest, as in every other. The Fugitive Slave Law, as between the two great parties, is not an issue. For they are, in that respect, precisely alike. The Democrats, on account of that plank in their platform, say you must vote against the Whigs. The Whigs, on account of the same plank in their platform, say you must vote against the Democrats. And two negatives, we used to learn in our boyhood, are equivalent to an affirmative, and nullify each other. Both parties lay down something as a part of a platform against which I enter my protest here, and everywhere else.

There is another party, Mr. Rantoul might have added here, which says that as both parties are, in respect of the great question of the Fugitive Slave Law, precisely alike, and as that question is one that ought to be an issue in the election, therefore the true way would be not to vote for either. He feels, however, a necessity stronger upon him of choosing between two evils, than between two evils and one right. But that is a matter between him and his late party—the Free Soilers. He thus finally announces his choice:

You cannot carry on a great movement and have every iota of your choice realized. And I do not confine this to little and unimportant affairs. I say there are high and important affairs managed very differently from what I desire. But I cannot, therefore, cut myself loose, and say I am opposed to you, sir, because you are against me in common schools; and I will not vote for you, because you are against me on the Maine law; or for you, because you are opposed to me on building a certain road. But I must take the policy which is to do good in the long run. If I do not, my action on one day is nullified by my action on another day. A straightforward course, then, in this district, is as clearly our duty now as at any former time [applause].

Clearly, such "a straightforward course" *is* "our duty." But whether it is to be found in the way to Franklin Pierce, Old Hunkerism, and a Baltimore Platform, is, we trust, a mooted question still in the Lynn shoe-shops.

Detention of Coloured English Seamen in South Carolina.—In the House of Commons, on the 22d, Mr. M. Milnes begged to ask the Government what steps had been taken to expedite the course of public justice in the case of Manuel Pereira, a coloured seaman, under British protection, detained in the prison of Charleston, in the United States, in consequence of the vessel on which he was employed having put into that port in distress; and in whose favour Mr. Mathew, her Majesty's consul at that place, has applied for a writ of habeas corpus on appeal to the Supreme Court of the State of South Carolina, in session at Columbia, which court had postponed the hearing of the said case till January next.

Lord Stanley was glad that this question had been put, because he thought it desirable, on all accounts, that public attention, both in this country and the United States, should, as far as possible, be called to the hard and oppressive working of those local and provincial laws which obtained in the Southern States of the Union with respect to negroes. With regard to the present case, it was supposed that a British brig, homeward bound, was compelled to put in at Charleston harbour in a sinking state. The vessel was found to be incapable of repair, and it was condemned. Amongst the men there appeared to be a person named Manuel Pereira, a coloured seaman, who, strictly speaking, was a Portuguese, and not a British subject. He was so far a British subject, however, that he was an articled seaman of a British ship.

In conformity with the law of South Carolina, it appeared that for some imputed offence, he was taken out of the ship and lodged in the common jail of the town. It was said that this seaman applied to the Portuguese Consul, but no notice was taken of the application. Shortly afterwards, the master of the vessel left Charleston, suffering Manuel Pereira to remain in prison. Mr. Mathew, her Majesty's Consul at Charleston, had distinct orders what to do in such cases, and it became a question whether he should appeal to the United States District Court, or to the Court of South Carolina. In the end, it was decided that application on the subject should be made to court of South Carolina. It then appeared that the judge refused the application for a writ of *habeas corpus*, reserving such decision for the upper court. The Superior Court was to meet in Columbia in May, and the latest accounts received by the Government were dated the 28th of that month, by which it appears that the matter was still pending in the Court of Appeals.

The present question was not a novel one, but it required very delicate handling. No subject led to a greater diversity of feeling or difference of opinion than that which related to the mutual obligations affecting the federal and provincial governments. The most energetic remonstrances had been addressed by the noble lord the member for Tiverton on this very subject; and he (Lord Stanley) believed that a relaxation had taken place in the law in one of the States of the Union. He had also every reason to believe that in time public opinion would procure the abrogation of laws which, although they were carried out, in one of the most intelligent countries of the world, were nevertheless a disgrace and a scandal to civilization (hear hear).

Mr. M. Milnes asked, whether he was to understand that the Supreme Court of South Carolina had not postponed the hearing of the case?

Lord Stanley repeated that the Government were not in the receipt of any later despatch than the one of the 28th of May.

The Derby Ministry has not earned for itself the reputation of being most earnest defenders of the rights of British subjects in foreign countries, and, if we may judge from the above debate on the case of Pereira, it is not indisposed to be as lenient to the Government of South Carolina as it has been to that of Austria; though Quattlebum is farther off, and, if the world did but know it, not quite so powerful as, though a good deal more despotic than, the Emperor.

Lord Stanley, it seems, was not in receipt of any later despatch than that of the 28th of May, though, probably, his lordship was quite aware that the Courts of South Carolina had put off the case of Pereira till January, which was meant to be equivalent to an eternal postponement. In the meantime, unless Consul Mathew interferes, the man will be sold to pay his jail fees, when it will be found that the case will require more 'delicate handling' than ever, if the British Government really means to defer the assertions of its own rights that South Carolina and the Federal Government shall have settled the question of State rights. That, South Carolina determined years ago, so far as she is concerned, when she gave Mr. Hoar the alternative of leaving the State or being lynched. If she is equally successful with Mr. Mathew and his Government, Gen. Quattlebum may as well march up to Washington, and take possession of the White House. For our part, we wish he would.

However, as the question has got into Parliament, it will not be so easy to get it out again; We may, at least, trust George Thompson for that.

What is a Free-Soiler?—Judge Allen, a member of Congress from Mass., answers this question very satisfactorily, in a letter written to Mr. Lewis Tappan, and published in the last No. of the *National Era*. Mr. Tappan is one of those unfortunate gentlemen who is always finding himself in the wrong place. In 1840, he 'bolted' from the American Anti-Slavery Society, because it, as he asserted, did too much; now, in 1852, he seems equally dissatisfied with his company, and bolts from the Free-Soilers, because they do not do enough. In a letter to the *Era*, he protests against the call for a Convention at Pittsburg, signed by Mr. Samuel Lewis, mainly because it is addressed to those only who are friendly to the principles declared at Buffalo in 1848, and not to the Friends of Freedom. He states that he addressed a letter to Judge Allen upon the subject, and gives that gentleman's reply. By this it will be seen that a Free Soiler is not necessarily an Abolitionist, and that Mr. Tappan's effort to turn over the Free Soil party to the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is not in order. Our English friends will learn from this how much the assertion of Mr. John Scoble, that the Free Soil party is Mr. Tappan's 'thunder,' is worth; and if the assertion were true, how much there is of Abolitionism in the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society:

Washington, June 14, 1852.

My Dear Sir: Our friends here have had two meetings for consultation in regard to the call of a National Convention. They represent constituencies in different parts of the country, and were united in the opinion that the call for a Convention should be made after the Conventions of the other parties. A large majority of gentleman in different States, who addressed Mr. Lewis (Chairman), by letter, concur in that opinion. I regret that the views of Anti-Slavery gentlemen in New York do not coincide with those elsewhere expressed. I was not present at either meeting in this city, but feel bound by the unanimous decision of our friends. My judgement also, I ought to add, approved of it.

The "call" agreed upon here, and to which Mr. Lewis has given his assent, and authorized the use of his name, is addressed to the "friends of the principles declared at Buffalo, at the Convention of August, 1848." If you will turn to the resolves there adopted, I think you will find that they contemplate all such action against Slavery as can be instituted by a political party, within the limits of the present Constitution. Carry out the principles of the Buffalo platform—"make Slavery sectional and freedom national;" "limit, localize, and discourage Slavery;" "apply the Ordinance of '87 to all the territories of the United States;" "relieve the government from the responsibility of the existence or continuance of Slavery, wherever it has constitutional authority to legislate on the subject;" "demand that there be no more slave States and no slave territory;" declare "that there must be no more compromises with Slavery, and if made they must be repealed." Carry out these and all the principles of 1848—make them the sentiment of the nation, and consequently the rule of action of its government, and the work of a political Anti-Slavery party, as distinguished from the whole people, will be accomplished, and its mission ended. At any rate, the dissemination of these principles by political party organization, co-operating with individual and associated efforts of a moral character, to turn the tide of public sentiment and the energies of the nation's conscience against the crime of slave-holding, would seem to be a work stupendous enough for the present hour. I hope there will be no division among those who are disposed to co-operate politically for practicable and constitutional opposition to Slavery.

With great respect, yours, truly,

Charles Allen.

Lewis Tappen, Esq., New York.

Progress.—A Convention of ministers and delegates from Congregational Churches met at Mansfield, Ohio, on the 23d ulto., for the purpose of forming a State Congregational Conference. With the steps which led to, and the alleged necessity for, such a movement, we are not concerned; but it seems to have been in part a 'come-outer' proceeding with those engaged in it, who were dissatisfied with the position in which their old connection placed them. We may be wrong in this surmise, but the course of the Convention on questions of reform seems to warrant it. After the adoption of articles of Faith—of the old Othodox stamp—and of a Constitution, the Convention unanimously passed the following resolution:

Whereas pure Christianity embraces genuine philanthropy, and, in the present age, is peculiarly called on to grapple with existing social evils and wrongs; and whereas the genius of Congregationalism impedes not itself in its action upon any evangelical reform, but sympathizes naturally with the sufferings of the humblest and most crushed of our race: therefore

Resolved, 1st, That we recognise the cause of Temperance as one of vital importance in human welfare, and most cordially lend it our influence.

2d. That we regard American Slavery as both a great violation of the law of God and of the rights of man; and that we deem it our sacred duty to protest by every Christian means against slaveholding and against any and all acts which recognise the false and pernicious principle that makes merchandize of man.

This, so far as the question of Slavery is concerned, is not much, if at all, in advance of other Eclesiastical bodies, as it is merely the expression of an opinion, and not the assertion of a duty in any practical way. With actual sins the Othodox Church assumes the right of dealing in another manner than by mere protest; and if it be acknowledged, or can be shown, that Slavery is such a sin, then the duty of positive action, according to the principles of the Church is clear. There seem to have been some of this way of thinking in this Convention, and accordingly, after having laid down this Platform of Communion of Churches, they make an application of it to slaveholding sinners:

COMMUNION OF CHURCHES.

Whereas the subject of communion and fellowship is one which, at this time, deeply interests the Christian public, and concerning which it is important that the churches should entertain just and scriptural opinions, therefore

Resolved, That we adopt, as the sentiment of this Convention, and recommend unto others those principles and that policy which, on this point, have prevailed in the New England churches from the earliest periods of their history, and which are particularly set forth in the Cambridge Platform in the following words:

"Though churches have no more authority one over another, than one apostle had over another, yet as one apostle might admonish another, so may one church admonish another, and yet without usurpation, in which case, if the church that lieth under offence do not hearken to the church that doth admonish her, the church is to acquaint other neighbour churches with that offence which the offending church still lieth under, together with the neglect of their brotherly admonition, given unto them; whereupon those other churches are to join in seconding the admonition formerly given; and if still the offending church continue in obstinacy and impenitency, they may forbear communion with them, and are to proceed to make use of the help of a synod, or council of neighbour churches walking orderly (if a greater cannot conveniently be had), for their conviction. If they hear not the synod, the synod having declared them to be obstinate, particular churches approving and accepting the judgment of the synod are to declare the sentence of non-communion respectively concerning them; and thereupon, out of religious care to keep their own communion pure, they may justly withdraw themselves from participation with them at the Lord's table and from such other acts of holy communion as the communion of churches doth otherwise allow and require. Nevertheless, if any members of such a church as liveth under public offence do not consent to the offence of the church, but do in due sort bear witness against it, they are still to be received to wonted communion, for it is not equal that the innocent should suffer with the offensive. Yea, furthermore, if such innocent members, after due waiting in the use of all good means for the healing of the offense of their own church, shall at last, with the allowance of council of the neighbour churches, withdraw from the fellowship of their own church, and offer themselves to the fellowship of another, we judge it lawful for the other church to receive them (being otherwise fit) as if they have been orderly dismissed from their own church."

Then followed the following minute adopted by a unanimous vote:

SLAVERY.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the Congregational Conference of the State of Ohio, which we propose to form, should hold no ecclesiastical correspondence with slaveholding bodies.

We doubt if even this will altogether satisfy our Anti-Slavery theologians, Foster and Pillsbury, as, according to the Orthodox Communion, they would demand that the Church should not only cut off correspondence with slaveholding bodies, but with all bodies holding such correspondence. It is, nevertheless, progress in the right direction.

☞ A Correspondent of the *Tribune*, at Toronto, states that a fight recently occurred at St. Catherines between the whites and the blacks, at the annual militia training at that place. The origin of the difficulty, whether in prejudice against coloured people, or in some other cause, does not appear; but the throwing of a brick, by one party or the other, was a signal for a general row. A rumour was started, continues the writer, that a fireman had been killed by negroes, and immediately a descent was made on a neighbouring negro village, which is said to have been nearly demolished. No lives were lost, though several persons of both races received considerable injury. Several arrests have been made, and the whole circumstances will be investigated.

Coloured people are permitted to sit on juries in Canada, and in other respects a social and political equality is secured to them, though, no doubt, the public sentiment is, in some degree, vitiated by the negro-hating republicans residing in Canada, and the constant intercourse with the people of the States. The *Tribune's* correspondent asserts that the prejudice is no stronger than that which exists between the members of different sects, and those of different political parties. That his will is good, however, to make it stronger, he shows by seizing upon this accidental row at St. Catherines as an occasion for advising the coloured people to go into exile in Africa.

Uncle Tom's Cabin.—A Boston paper says that Mrs. Stowe received from her publishers, Messrs. Jewett & Co., on the 7th inst., the sum of *Ten Thousand Three Hundred Dollars*, as her copyright premium on the sale of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' for three months. It is stated that this is the largest sum ever received by any author, either English or American, from the sale of a single work in so short a period. Nor is it so because her share of the profits is unusually large, but because the actual sale of the book is unprecedented.

Mr. L. C. Matlack, editor of the *True Wesleyan*, of this city, writes to the *Tribune* that one Mianjah Keelan, who is on a begging expedition hereabouts, for the ostensible purpose of buying his children in Alabama, is an impostor. Mr. Matlack says that he has a certificate of membership as a local preacher in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, signed by G. P. Riley, Wesleyan Minister, dated eight months ago, but that Mr. Riley writes him—Mr. Matlack—that, since these certificates were given, "the character of Keelan has come out—that, although familiar with Keelan, he never knew of his having *one* child in Slavery, much less four, 'nor did I ever hear him speak of or pray for them.' And finally, he declares as his opinion that 'if he had twenty children, and could obtain as many thousand dollars, it is extremely doubtful whether he would purchase their freedom.'"

Such cases are becoming more and more common, and are seized upon as a ready excuse by the public for refusing all aid to persons who ask it to enable them to purchase themselves or their relatives. The result is inevitable, and, unless some plan can be devised by which the impostors can be immediately exposed, and confidence thus be restored that none are asking for this sort of charity but those who really deserve it, it will soon be impossible for any sum to be raised in this manner. We do not believe it to be a good rule never to give, for we know there are many cases where the duty of Charity is as imperative as it can be under any circumstances of want or suffering. There is, we take it, no other rule to be laid down but that great care and discrimination be exercised, as in other applications for relief from unfortunate circumstances.

A Democratic Sentiment.—St. Tammany had a Feast-day, a few days since, to which everybody who was ever heard of, and a great many who never were, either went himself or sent a letter. Among the latter was one from Kossuth, who begged the Democrats that they would not forget the principles of non-intervention which they proclaimed in October last, in that very Tammany Hall; and another from ex-President and ex-Free Soiler Van Buren, who expressed his gratification that the "disturbing subject of Slavery" was at last out of the way—an evidence of what Locofoco Democracy, in this country, means, which Gov. Kossuth would do well to consider, and get out of it what comfort he can. But the best letter of all was one from Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, of Philadelphia, who gave this synopsis of party politics:

The only two questions of interior on which the country is much divided, are, *office* and *Slavery*. * * * And as for Slavery, the rival party conventions of Baltimore have rendered it impossible for any President to disturb and agitate the Union on that subject, without violating all party and both party pledges, as well as all patriotic considerations.

Large majorities of both parties represented in those Conventions have emphatically declared that Slavery, *no matter whether right or wrong*, is part and parcel of our State rights, with which the nation has nothing to do, but to let it alone.

And he closed with offering this sentiment, the most candid admission of the real character of the Republic made since McDuffie declared that Slavery was its corner-stone:

The Rival Party Conventions—Competing to vindicate Slavery as part of that American Liberty which the treaty of Independence recognizes, and no foreign nation must meddle with.

Hon. C. Durkee and Hon. E. K. Smart, Members of Congress, will accept our thanks for public documents.

Domestic Correspondence.

FROM OUR BOSTON CORRESPONDENT.

NO. CVII.

The Argument.—*The Correspondent vindicateth himself—The Morals of Laughter—Things unspeakable—Scott's Chances in Massachusetts—The Correspondent prophesieth smooth things—Exaltation after Humiliation—The Ratification Meeting—Rumours running before it—Shoutings and Groanings—Mr. Choate disappointeth the Correspondent and jumpeth not down his own throat—Ingurgitatory grimaces—Upshot—The Overseer—His Whip and how he laid it on—How he insulted the meeting and served them right—Curiosities of Memory—The Rejection Meeting—How called—Who owned it—An anxious seat—A Fugitive Chairman—Mr. Henry Williams' Speech—Mr. Webster a chance, yet—Mr. Winslow—His sermon—His delivery—His most sensible propositions—Mr. Clay's Spiritual Ratification—What the Correspondent must leave untold—He doeth justice to Mr. Denison—The Boston Baby's Rattle—Perspiratory Comforters—Uses for Fridays—The Funeral—Lord Timothy Dexter—Mr. Webster hath the better of his lordship—The Correspondent describeth, defecteth and moralizeth the Show—He maketh the amende honourable to Professor Hudson, &c. &c. &c.*

Boston, July 12th, 1852.

A common friend of ours is pleased to regard me as one whose chief delight is in seeing my fellow-creatures make fools of themselves. Now, I do not admit the soft impeachment, for I had very much rather they would *not* make fools of themselves. But, then, if they will insist upon doing it, why, you know, one can't help laughing at them. Our risible muscles were given to us, I apprehend, for that very purpose, and it would be an ungrateful neglect of the Divine mercies not to put them to their proper use. Webster-Whigdom in this city has certainly afforded ample occasion for the enjoyment of this provision of a beneficent Providence, ever since the glorious Twenty-First of June, and as much within the last fortnight as at any time. Only, I have not space to give you even an inkling of their richnesses. The private talk cannot be reported—the overflowing of bile, the outburstings of spleen, the impotent malice towards the successful candidate! Impotent, for however doubtful General Scott may be of the electoral vote of other States, he may reckon with absolute certainty upon Massachusetts. And the more Mr. Webster's friends try to damage his prospects, the more sure will they be. Gen. Pierce would have carried the State against either Fillmore or Webster, for no power could have held in the Free Soilers from giving the testimony of the State against either of *them*. But for Scott they care as little as for Pierce, and will vote for their own man, and the great mass of the Whigs, out of Boston and a few manufacturing towns owned by Boston, have always been for Scott. This you may rely upon. Had the Scott Whigs chosen to do so, they could have sent eleven Scott delegates to two Webster ones to the Convention; but, feeling sure that Scott would be nominated, they let the Webster men have their own way, so as to leave them no excuse for *bolting*, afterwards.

The week after the Nomination, the Scott men had their season of exaltation, after their long sojourn in the valley of humiliation. Their turn came at last, when the Meeting for Ratification was held in Faneuil Hall. It had been rumoured that the Webster-Whigs meant to break up the meeting, and, especially to prevent Mr. Winthrop from speaking. It is needless to say that less than this hint was sufficient to secure the presence of your attentive and indefatigable Correspondent. However, if there had even been any such plot, wiser counsels prevailed before the meeting came off. There was not much more disturbance than at many of our Faneuil Hall Anti-Slavery meetings. The enemies did not break up the Meeting; they only insulted it. For instance, when the procession of the Officers and Speakers was making its way through the crowd, instead of cheers for Scott, or Winthrop, as is usual, it was saluted by three times three for Daniel Webster. And when the name of Mr. Schouler, the Scott editor of the *Atlas*, was called among the Vice Presidents, it was received with a volley of groans. However, the speeches were made and the resolutions passed, with only frequent and insolent interruptions. I was greatly disappointed at the absence of Mr. Choate, who was in the bill of the play. I had promised myself unusual entertainment at seeing the Harlequin of the piece, of which Mr. Webster had been the Pantaloon, open his mouth and jump down his own throat! But, like his great examplar, the Bottle Conjuror, he was missing when the time came, and merely sent a line to say that he *had* done it. There was great fun, however, in seeing the wry faces of many of the prominent men of the meeting, as they gulped down the bitter dose. For it was, properly, a Ratification Meeting, and represented the Weight of the Whig party, as well the Webster wing of it as the Scott. There will be no opposition, to speak of, on the part of any considerable Whigs, to the Scott ticket, whatever amount of blarney or bluster there may be on the part of the small fry.

You may remember that I suggested, in my last, I think, that it would be well for Mr. Clay (it was before he went to his own place), or the other owners of the Boston plantation, to send on an overseer to administer a little wholesome correction to their refractory chattels. Well, they had thought so themselves, it seems, for there was the very man at this Meeting, whip in hand, and the way in which he laid it over the Webster Whigs who were disturbing the Meeting, and those that threatened to bolt, was comfortable to behold. He was one Netherland, of Tennessee. His speech was an excellent specimen of the Stump species, and was very effective from the spirit with which he put in the licks. Being one of their recognised masters, they could only writhe and *squirm* a little. Of course, they didn't dare to resist him. It was very refreshing, too, to see him insult the whole meeting—which is the proper mission of every slaveholder in a Northern assembly. He said that as soon as a Northern Whig was nominated, the cry at the South was that he was an Abolitionist! I wonder whether he remembered how Mr. Lawrence, from that very place, had declared himself "a born Abolitionist!" And how Mr. Webster and Mr. Choate, and all the Whig orators and editors of four years ago, demonstrated that the Whigs were the only Anti-Slavery party, and they themselves the only Abolitionists dyed in the wool! It's my belief he did. At any rate, I am sure the gentlemen on the platform remembered it well enough.

But altogether the crowning event of the last fortnight was the great Rejection Meeting, also in Faneuil Hall, last Wednesday. A call for this meeting had appeared in the papers, but without any signatures.—True to your interests, and those of mankind, I repaired to the appointed scene. The Hall was pretty well filled; but evidently by persons who came for fun, chiefly. But though there was audience enough, there seemed to be a plentiful lack of actors. Mr. Henry Williams, an elderly gentleman, chiefly notorious for having been prominent in the Garrison mob, and the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, the celebrated definer of Civil Liberty (in his sermon on the Death of Lovejoy), as "the liberty to do that which the voice and will of the Brotherhood will allow and protect," were the only persons who appeared as owners of the meeting. They waited for half an hour after the time appointed, with an occasional anxious conference and many longing glances at the door. At last the galleries got so impatient, that Mr. Williams assured them that the officers of the meeting would be forthcoming directly, when they might be assured that things would be done that would be felt from one end of the continent to the other. After another pause, the expected Chairman having evidently made good his escape, a Mr. Hammond moved Mr. Williams into the Chair, who took it with a speech, very fierce and very funny, though not so meant. No Vice Presidents were ventured upon, and though the Chairman insisted upon the appointment of "at least *three* Secretaries," and had them chosen, he could not, though conjuring them by name, get one to make his appearance. He declared the object of the meeting to be the undoing of what had been done at Baltimore, and the election of Mr. Webster over the heads of all the other candidates! Mr. Winslow pursued the same idea in a written speech which he pulled from his pocket. The absurdity of this performance could only be surpassed by the absurd delivery of the orator. Imagine a man, after putting on his spectacles, standing at full length before a tumultuous audience, reading a sermon from firstly to seventhly and lastly, with all imaginable gesticulation and unction! He thought nothing was necessary but to nominate Mr. Webster, and the people would put him through. Two of his most sensible propositions were: 1. that Mr. Webster was the only man *the South* would vote for; and 2. that the *spirit of Henry Clay* would rejoice in the doings of that night. Perhaps it would, if it retained the dislike of Mr. Webster it enjoyed in the flesh. But I must leave this meeting, overflowing with richness as it was, without even relating how the Rev. Charles W. Denison triumphantly announced his success in procuring the nomination of Mr. Webster by the Native Americans at Trenton. As you well know the solidity of this gentleman's parts, and the consistent excellence of his character, it is the less necessary that I should enlarge on the figure he made. It is enough to say, that if anything had been needed to heighten the ridicule of Mr. Webster's position and that of his friends, nothing could have been more ingeniously devised or skillfully carried out than this Rejection Meeting.

But it is high time I came to the great rattle which the Boston people provided to console their pet for failing to reach the head of his class at Baltimore. If being carted through the streets, in the hottest part of the hottest day of the year, with a thousand men sweating on foot before him, and another thousand sweating on horseback behind him, could console Mr. Webster for the loss of the nomination, he must have been comforted last Friday. Friday! An unlucky day they chose! We always hang here on Fridays. However, it was not unappropriate for a funeral. And so obviously was this a funeral, that everybody with one consent spoke of it as one. Mr. Webster having been slaughtered at Baltimore, was brought home for burial. And this was it. You remember having heard how Lord Timothy Dexter, of Newburyport, had his own obsequies celebrated, while he sat watching them from his window. Mr. Webster had the advantage of that noble Lord, inasmuch as he not only attended his own funeral, but delivered his own funeral discourse. The resemblance to a funeral was increased by the odd request of the managers of the affair, that the shops on the line of the procession should be closed. There was a considerable display of bunting in some of the streets, with here and there a plaster bust of Mr. Webster, looking ghastlily forth from among the flowers, but there was little enthusiasm. Perhaps, indeed, it may have been all melted out of the leiges. For it was a fearfully hot day. Several men died of the heat, one at least, of the escort. The show of men was very sufficient. Boston can do a thing of that sort up handsomely. And that was all that this Reception proved.

It was a Boston affair, with the assistance of a few neighbouring towns. The Sims Brigade, of course, was out, as in duty bound, so were some other military companies. But what did that prove? Of course if a Yankee invests a certain sum in a coat of many colours, with a favourable eruption of gilt buttons, and a streak or two of gold lace or galloon and a cockstail, the oftener he can show it the better the return. Why they were even willing to let Kossuth see their man-milinery, than not show it at all. It was not a Massachusetts Reception. It was nothing even sectional. It was purely municipal. A mere show and noise to cover the mortification and shame with which they are covered. It was a most deplorable make-believe. Of course there are two or three thousand men about Boston who stand by Mr. Webster, and are content to go behind him or before him, through dirt or mud.—Everybody knew that before. Of what use then was the reception? It did not make him President, or even a candidate. It was mocking a defeated General with the show of a triumph. It only forced his digrace the more unmistakeably upon the eyes of all the world.

I was glad to see that you published the correction of the mistake relative to Professor Hudson, of Oberlin, which I helped to circulate. I regret extremely that the mistake should have occurred, and rejoice that it has been cleared up so honourably to all concerned.

D. Y.

THE CANTERBURY SCHOOL.

PRUDENCE CRANDALL—ANDREW T. JUDSON.

Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard:

There is now hanging up in my parlour an excellent portrait of Prudence Crandall, the heroic young woman who, in 1833, instituted and attempted to sustain a school for coloured girls in Canterbury, Connecticut. The picture was painted by Mr. Alexander, one of the most distinguished artists in this country, at the expense of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, as an expression of their respect for a woman who had dared and endured so much in the cause of a despised and much injured portion of the people of our Republic. The Executive Committee of that Society have seen fit to present this portrait to me; and I desire thus publicly to thank them for the donation. It is an accurate likeness. It almost speaks to me of by-gone persecutions, conflicts, triumphs in the cause of our coloured countrymen. "*Quæque ipsi vidi, et quorum pars fui.*"

I cannot but regard it as a noticeable coincidence that, while this painting was on the way to me, came your request that I would prepare for the *Standard* a memoir of the Canterbury School. You were moved to this request by what you have seen of the spirit of Judge Judson, in the trials of poor Long and Preston. When you shall be informed how basely and cruelly he conducted in 1833, you will see that nothing better than what you have witnessed was to be expected of him in 1851–2. If our government had intended to put into the important post he occupies, a man who would swerve as far as possible to gratify the wishes of our slaveholding aristocracy, they could not have selected a more pliant tool.

Prudence Crandall was a native of Canterbury, a daughter of respectable parents, who were members of the Society of Friends. The domestic and ecclesiastical discipline of the people of that faith has a tendency, more than any other, to develope in the young of both sexes a quiet energy and moral courage that were signally displayed by the heroine of my tale.

The first I ever heard of Miss Crandall was as a very successful teacher of a school for young ladies, in the town of Plainfield, adjoining Canterbury. It was in 1831, she being then about 20 years of age. Before the close of that year, she removed to the pretty village of Canterbury, by invitation of several of the prominent inhabitants thereof. She purchased a large house, conspicuously situated, next to the residence of the Hon. Andrew T. Judson, one of the leaders of the Democratic party, the State's Attorney, and an eager aspirant for any higher office. For a while, she was in great favour, and the reputation of her school was noised through the neighbouring towns. Towards the close of 1832, Sarah Harris, the daughter of a coloured man of Canterbury, a quiet, industrious farmer, applied to Miss Crandrall for admission into her school. Sarah was a very well-behaved girl, much prettier in her person and countenance than the daughters of many of her white neighbours; she had been to the District School, with several of the then pupils of Miss Crandall, and had been reputed to be as correct in her deportment and as apt to learn as they; moreover, she was reputed to be an accepted child of God, for she was an accredited member of the Orthodox Congregational Church of Canterbury, to which, I believe, the Hon. Mr. Judson also belonged. There was, therefore, no conceivable objection to her admission to Miss Crandall's school, excepting only the tincture of her skin; and this objection, Miss C. thought it would be impious to interpose. Sarah Harris, therefore, entered her school in January, 1833. Both she and Miss C. took every precaution to render her presence as little offensive as possible to her schoolmates of the aristocratic complexion. But before long, the murmurs of those very important personages—the patrons of the school—became audible; and, towards the middle of the term, Miss Crandall was distinctly informed that, unless she dismissed Sarah Harris, her white pupils would be taken away from her. She remonstrated—urged that this neat, intelligent, well-behaved, and withal 'pious' girl (a sister in their own church), ought not to be denied the blessing of a good education, which might so much increase her usefulness and happiness. But her appeals to them availed nothing. The pride of caste, the prejudice against colour, was roused, and no considerations of benevolence or religion had any counterweight with the Democrats and Christians of Canterbury.

The question was now forced upon Miss Crandall's decision, whether she would lose her school or outrage the feelings and deny the rights of this one unoffending pupil. The trial of her fidelity to principle was by no means a light one. Her school had become the pride of her life; and besides, she was owing a large part of the price of the house she had bought. Sarah Harris saw that the struggle might be severe, and, to strengthen her for the right, put into her hands some of the writings of Mr. Garrison and the early Abolitionists. These she read with avidity. They revealed to her the importance of her decision in its bearing upon the condition of millions of the inhabitants of the land, and the redemption of our country from the bondage of its greatest iniquity. She resolved that she would not act in obedience to an unrighteous and cruel prejudice. She visited New York, Philadelphia, Providence and Boston, and there ascertained that she could have, for pupils, twenty or thirty of the daughter's of coloured persons in those cities. Accordingly she announced that, on the 1st of April, being the commencement of a new term, her school would be open for the reception of *coloured* girls, and any others who might wish to be admitted into it with them.

Thus, you see, the conversion of the Canterbury Female Seminary into a Boarding School for coloured girls was mainly owing to the conduct of the patrons. There could not have been a more unexceptionable person than Sarah Harris, save her complexion. If she had been allowed to remain without molestation in the school, there would have been no excitement, no agitation of the Anti-Slavery question in connection with it. Miss Crandall might never have been led to read the writings of the Abolitionists. Her fame might have been restricted to the region round about Canterbury, and the name of Andrew T. Judson would have stood much fairer before his countrymen and the world.

I shall endeavour to give you, in several chapters, a faithful account of the proceedings of her persecutors, this Mr. Judson being the leader.

Yours truly, Samuel J. May.

Miscellaneous News.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe has sent two mulatto girls to Oberlin to be educated. They are the girls who about four years ago were redeemed from Bruin Hill, through the agency of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

——The fees of $1000 to Mr. Cooper, and $1000 to Mr. Brent, for their services in trying the Christiana prisoners, have been directed by the Legislature of Maryland to be paid out of the forfeited recognizances of Wm. L. Chaplin.

——The bill for the entertainment of Kossuth and his suite at the Burnet House, which has been the subject of so much jeering at the expense of Cincinnati, has been paid at last. It was originally $1, 348, but the Council cut it down to $1,000 and passed it by a vote of 29 to 15.

——The Boston *Commonwealth* says, "that one of the banners upon the occasion of the Webster Reception, was to be the Union Party flag, with the following mottoes: North Side—'*A great man, but not available.*' South Side—'*We are willing to pay for catching our negroes, but not in votes!*'"

——There are at least 1,200 acres of vineyards around Cincinnati alone, giving employment to no less than 600 efficient labourers, at an annual cost of $20,000 and producing in moderately favourable seasons, 240,000 gallons of wine. Most of those engaged in the culture of the vine have families to support. It is calculated that the wine interest in Hamilton county affords subsistence, directly and indirectly, to 10,000 industrious and sober people.

——We (*Tribune*) understand that Mrs. Tamar Davis, of Allawaystown (New Jersey), is preparing a work for the press, designed to be the counterpart of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," but illustrative of the condition and character of the Negroes in the Free States. The scene will be laid in New Jersey, where there are several villages occupied exclusively, it is said, by coloured people.

——A Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Inquirer* says:

"It is perhaps, not generally known, that Mr. Clay, upon his retirement from the State Department, at the close of John Quincy Adams's administration, confided to Gen. Jessup all the original manuscripts and rough drafts which he had written whilst Secretary of State. These were to be used after his death in justice to his memory, in case the calumnies should be revived, that although he spoke well he could not write. The manuscripts are very voluminous, filling a large trunk and a box. Their publication will be looked for with great interest."

——The National Anniversary was celebrated by some four or five hundred of the friends of freedom in Rochester on the 5th. The oration was delivered by Fred. Douglass, and the Declaration was read by the Rev. R. R. Raymond, of Syracuse.

——Spiritualists' Convention in Cleveland.—A second Convention of Spiritualists, Mediums, &c., was held in the Melodeon, on Sunday, convened by order of the Spirits, if we understood correctly, given through Dr. A. Underhill. The Melodeon was well filled by believers and spectators, and the exercises purported to be conducted entirely by Spirits, through mortal agency. They were quite similar to the doings of the first convention, except that there was less rapping. To the believers the exercise seemed to be quite satisfactory, but to an outsider the developement of spirits and spirit manifestations appeared of a very low order, slightly if any higher than in many wards of an insane asylum. The spirits of Martin Luther, John Huss, and the "old Revolutioners," have progressed backward rapidly, if the specimens at the Spiritual Convention were genuine. Such is our "private opinion, publicly expressed."—*Cleveland Herald, 6th inst.*

——The *Ironton Register* details a case of kidnapping in Lawrence County. A negro man, who had been for some time resident in that County, loaned some money to a white man, by name Collier, who was to give a note for it, payable on demand; but, instead, a note was given payable in a year, including the interest. The negro could not read; but when he learned what the note was, called upon Collier for the money, which was refused. A day or two after he sent for the negro to come and get his money. The next morning, Collier and two men, named Davis, were seen taking him bound toward the Ohio River. Collier soon after returned, and went to church with the negro's clothes on! The absence of the negro, under the circumstances, excited the neighbourhood, and Collier and the Davises were arrested and held to bail, jointly, in $300. It was soon after ascertained that the negro was in jail at Greenup, Kentucky. He had free papers, which were taken from him. The accused were indicted, but made their escape into Kentucky, where they are at large.

——The Germans and the Intervention Question.—We (*Herald*) are informed that since the late German Kossuth meeting in this city, and agreeably to the resolutions therein adopted, the bureau and committee of arrangements assembled on Wednesday evening, and drew up a constitution for the "Democratic Association of the German Americans," the tendency of which is laid down in the following resolution, introduced by Mr. Herman Qaster, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That it is the object of the association to effect the general acknowledgment of the importance and power of the German element, as representative of progress in all questions of external as well as internal policy within the national democratic party.

——The *Halifax British American* says: There is no doubt whatever that gold—real veritable gold—has been discovered in Nova Scotia in large quantities and of great purity. Samples have been forwarded to scientific men in this city, *with strict injunctions to secrecy*—nor will the parties confide the locality of their diggings even to the men whom they are consulting as to the quality of the article they are digging. We are informed that a telegraphic dispatch has been received stating that people are flocking to Annapolis from St. John, and that the rush is so great that seamen cannot be got to man the vessels in the Annapolis River. The desire of the miners to keep their diggings secret is because the General Mining Association claim all the mines and minerals of Nova Scotia, and would of course seize on any diggings of value that have been or may be discovered.

——Canadian Immigrants.—We know that it would be cheering to the friends of the slave and the free coloured men who are in the States if they could witness the constant influx of these classes into Canada, escaping from the lash of their persecutors and the tyranny of inhuman laws. As far as we can learn not less than 500 have arrived within our vicinity since our last issue.

Some noble specimens of humanity have come in by the underground route from Kentucky. And several free coloured families, consisting of 22 in all from Indiana, passed through Windsor *en route* for Amherstburg, last week, with four fine covered wagons, and eight of as fine horses, that it has ever been our lot to witness. The men, women and children looked healthy and vigorous, and bore the impress of independence and self respect.

We will take this occasion to mention also, that a few weeks since six or eight, such teams from the same State, came into Canada. Thus are the people of the U. S., by their oppressive laws of national and State Governments, driving wealth, bone and sinew, from the country. And thereby building up an asylum of implacable and formidable enemies to themselves, who else would be their most devoted friends. Truly the folly of the wicked shall be their own destruction.—*Voice of the Fugitive.*

——Slave Hunters.—We understand that some specimens of these loathsome excrescences of the human race made their appearance in Detroit last week. But there they met a boundary they dare not pass in search of slave property. If any of them aspire after the honours that graced the Austrian woman-whipper in London, we feelingly invite them on Her Majesty's free soil.—*Ibid.*

——The funeral ceremonies in respect to the memory of Mr. Clay will be celebrated in this city, on the 20th inst.

——Hon. John. P. Kennedy, of Baltimore, has been selected by the President for Secretary of the Navy, (vice Hon. William A. Graham, resigned).

Deaths.

Boyle.—On Thursday morning, July 8, in this city of dropsy, Mrs. Laura P. Boyle, aged 48 years, wife of Jame Boyle, and daughter of the late John Putnam, of Ohio.

Annual Meeting!

OLD COLONY (MASS.) A. S. SOCIETY.

The eighteenth annual meeting of the above Society will be holden in the Town Hall at Kingston, on Sunday, July 18th, 1852, at the usual hours of religious worship. A meeting will also be held at 5 o'clock.

We hope our friends throughout the country will be present in large numbers; the times demand prompt and energetic action on the part of the friends of primitive abolition. Nothing is to be expected from political Anti-Slavery. Moral power must do the work. William Lloyd Garrison will be present.

P. S. Parker Pillsbury will be at this meeting.

Bourne Spooner, *President.*

H. H. Bingham, *Secretary.*

Nantucket (Mass).

Daniel Foster, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will give his course of four Anti-Slavery lectures in Nantucket, commencing on Sunday, July 18th. These lectures have already been delivered in many towns, with the most favourable results.

Southboro' (Worcester Co. Mass).

Stephen S. Foster and Abby Kelley Foster, Agents of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings at the new Hall at Southville (in Southboro'), on Sunday July 18th, at the usual hours, morning and afternoon.

A third meeting will be held by them, at Southboro' Town Hall, at 5 o'clock, P. M.

N. B. Southville is the village at the Southboro' depot on Boston and Worcester railroad.

Anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society.

The Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society hereby give notice that the Annual Meeting of the Society will be held at Salem, Columbiana County, Ohio, commencing on Saturday, the 21st of August, at 10 o'clock, A. M., to continue for three days.

Now that both the great political parties have anew pledged themselves to perpetuate the power of Slavery, and to continue the act for slave-catching as the supreme law of the land, as above God, and all that is called and worshipped as God, it becomes the friends of Freedom to assemble and devote themselves afresh to its interests—to take new counsel—to provide new means of warfare—to combine for new and more decisive action, such as the exigencies of the times demand. The Committee, therefore, invite the attendance of all the members and friends of the Society on this occasion. We shall have the aid of some distinguished friends of the cause from abroad, but the work to be done is with us in Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. Let the whole West be fully represented.

In behalf of the Executive Committee.

Sarah McMillan, *Recording Secretary.*

Caution.

During the Anniversary of the A. S. Society, in May last, Wm. Johnson, formerly in my employ, but whom I had not seen for the last five or six years, called on me, and stated that since I last saw him, he had been taken back into Slavery, from which he had formerly escaped. But, having now again obtained his liberty, he was desirous of purchasing the freedom of one of his kindred, still in bondage, and wished a line from me commending him to the confidence of the benevolent. Having known nothing of him inconsistent with good morals, I gave him the paper asked for. Since that time several circumstances have been reported to me in regard to his course which lead me to fear that he *is not acting honestly*. I would, therefore, recommend that no more money be paid him until he shall give a full satisfactory explanation of his conduct, and the use he has made of the funds contributed to him.

Geo. A. Avery.

Rochester, June 22d, 1852.

☞ Anti-Slavery papers please copy.

National Convention.

Notice is hereby given, that a National Convention, consisting of Delegates of the Free Democracy, will assemble at the city of Pittsburg, on Wednesday, the eleventh day of August next, at noon, for the purpose of selecting candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States. Friends of the principles declared at Buffalo, at the memorable Convention of August, 1848, are requested, within their respective States and Congressional Districts, to meet and elect Delegates, wherever the same has not already been done—each State being entitled to three times the number of its delegation in the Congress of the United States.

By order of the General Free Soil Committee.

Samuel Lewis, *Chairman.*

Washington, June 19, 1852.

Miscellaneous Department.

Yesterday and To-day.

BY CLARENCE COOK.

But Yesterday the laughing sun
Came dancing on the rosy East—
You would have thought that it was May;
The birds sang clear on every spray.

The heart with fuller motion beat,
The sad eye flashed with brighter fire;
Down to the ground the sunbeams came
And lit the crocus' slender flame.

The branches of the lonely pine
Rocked to a glad, harmonious hymn.
The song-bird's music and the breeze
With double laughter shook the trees

That cluster round the southern wall,
A feathery fringe against the sky;
Their yellow branches in the sun
Are very fair to look upon.

Far down between the rounded hills,
I watched a wreath of morning mist
Floating in shadow—rising slow,
The sunlight glorified its snow.

The day was blessed. Field and hill
Dreamed, bathed in light and lulled with sound.
All day my soul at peace within
Went carolling her joyful hymn.

To-Day you cannot see the sun,
A blinding mist blots out the sky.
You hear the angry waters flow,
You hear the wintry breezes blow.

The branches of the lonely pine
Mutter and sigh, tossed to and fro;
The birds that chanted in the sun
Sit in the covert cold and dumb.

The maiden Spring that Yesterday
Was born, To-Day, alas! is dead.
The pitying heavens drop over all
This silent snow for fittest pall.

The sobbing winds her requiem sing;
The plashing waves upon the shore
Sigh hour by hour; the dreary day
In mist and silence fade away.

The heart is wintry as the earth—
Tossed with the storm, and drenched with gloom,
And dark with doubts that round her throng,
To choke with tears her heavenward song.

March 18, 1852. —*N. Y. Tribune*

A SKETCH OF THE LONDON TIMES.

ITS HISTORY AND CONRIBUTORS.

[From a series of Papers on the Press, publishing in the 'London Critic.']

The English Journal of the present day, in most of its forms which are most familiar and most acceptable to the public, is a skilfully-blended compound of the pamphlet and the newspaper proper, and these two prime elements of its existence have varied, throughout the whole development of the English press, in their relative quantity and potency, in accordance with the circumstances of the time, and the social and intellectual position of the persons who were its periodical historians or instructors. By far the most remarkable period in the early history of the English press, as distinguished from English literature in general, is that which dates from the irruption into print and action of those political and spiritual differences which have made the reign of Charles I. so memorable an epoch. When the mutilated Prynne had been avenged in the decapitated Stafford, and the censorship of the press, in the person of Laud, was held captive in the Tower, the spirit which had inspired at a former period the flying and persecuted sheets of Martin Mar Prelate, found a free embodiment in the pamphlet, and through this medium it was that Milton began to discharge his scathing and riving thunderbolts. When, a little later, the nation was split into literally two hostile camps, and the kingdom became one vast battle-field, no wonder that the London newspaper, to which converged intelligence from all parts of the country, attained a new importance, and was among the indispensabilities of the age. Sometimes the newspaper of those days partook slightly of the pamphlet, and the current news which it communicated was prefaced by a slight political essay, in a tone of invective or disquisition: thus Marchmont Needham's paper, *The Mercurius Politicus*, in course of publication this time two hundred years, generally opens with an apology for a leading article in the shape of pleading for the establishment of a free commonwealth, based on Roman History, the expulsion of Tarquin, and so forth! But on the whole, the newspaper editor and the pampheteer were, and long continued to be, different persons; and indeed the history of the English press resolves itself chiefly into a chronicle of the flirtation and courtship of the newspaper and the pamphlet up to their happy betrothal in our own day. When the revolution of 1688 once more brought freedom to the press, and with the accession of Queen Anne, the Defoes, Addisons, Steeles, and Swifts, occupied themselves with party journalism, the marriage between the pamphlet and the newspaper seemed on the point of being consummated. But anon they fly asunder, and the pamphleteer drives his mercenary quill in Grub street, while the newspaper editor seeks for, in advertisements, the pecuniary reward of a prudent political neutrality. Then comes the era of the political letter, culminating in the famous compositions of Junius: the newspaper and the pamphlet not yet wedded, but evidently flirting very hard. Is was at this stage of the connexion that, a year after the establishment of *The Times*, the French Revolution of 1789 found the British newspaper press; nor can the union between the newspaper and the pamphlet be pronounced to be definitively concluded even now, for one of the oldest and most extensively circulated of English newspapers still appears without leading articles, and it is not long since an eminent writer conveyed his political lucubrations to the world in the guise of Latter-Day——*Pamphlets.*

John Walter, No. I., the founder of *The Times* newspaper, was a printer in London so far back as the year 1783; a man of speculative and determined character, who narrowly escaped becoming the Arkwright of typography. But alas! print has still to be "composed" in the old and painful manner, letter after letter has still to be "picked up" singly and placed alongside of its predecessor by the human fingers; for "logography," the invention which Walter No. I. patented and partly invented, turned out not to be practicable for a continuance. "Logography" in Walter's hands was to supersede typography: he "used stereotyped words and parts of words instead of separate metal letters;" a plan which, at first sight, displays many obvious advantages. Nor did he surrender it before he had turned out many a sheet of print by it; among other things, three years of a daily newspaper, *The Daily Universal Register*, begun the 1st of January, 1785, which, like its absorbent and successor, *The Times*, is described in the heading as "printed logographically." The name of the Register did not suit, there being already so many publications bearing that title; and on the 1st of January, 1788, it was renamed, and with a loud flourish of trumpets issued from Printing-House Square under the designation which has made it famous throughout the earth—The Times.

We have had before us, in the newspaper-volume for the year in the Museum Library, a stray copy of the number of the leading journal for "Thursday, May 7, 1789," the day after the meeting of the States-General in Paris—that "baptism of democracy"—and of journalism, its symbol and organ. It is in size and appearance (two leaves, something like an old Penny Magazine) much the same as its contemporary, *The Public Advertiser* (famous as the vehicle of Junius), but has more advertisements than the latter. Walter was, at this time, "Printer to the Customs," and hence, perhaps, a certain government air which pervades his paper. Although there are no leading articles, in our sense of the term, there are a few leading paragraphs, the first of which begins in quite a knowing way: "We have now the best authority to say that the new arrangements in the Cabinet," &c. &c. The advertisements, too, have an official look, many of them emanating from the "Navy Office." There are some books by "Mrs. Trimmer," childhood's beloved and venerated name. Mr. Christie, too, is to sell by auction, at a brisk rate, articles of *vertu*, in his "great room, Pall Mall." Here is one which might appear to-day: "A Gentleman, liberally educated, who is perfectly qualified for an editor of a public paper, or a private secretary, and who can give the most satisfactory references both in point of character and ability, would be glad of employment in any part of England and Ireland. Address," &c., to which the ambitious aspirant acutely adds: "Having been accustomed to political controversy, flatters himself he could be eminently useful *at the next general election!*" There is a column of Parliamentary debate, each speech condensed into a few lines. And, besides the ordinary staple-news, there are scattered, up and down the paper, various little paragraphs of a questionable kind, very dangerous in those days. Before the year was out, Walter found himself in Newgate, for "a libel on the Duke of York." In the February of 1790, he was convicted of more libels on royal children. The audacious printer (or one of his subs) had charged their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York "with having so demeaned themselves as to incur the just disapprobation of His Majesty," their gracious sovereign and parent: times and *The Times* are rather changed since then, good reader, are they not?

These were not Radical libels, however, but were probably meant to support the authority of a royal parent with rather rebellious children; for the Walters have ever been a constitutional family—a constitutional, yes, and an independent family. John Walter, No. II., for instance (who died some five years ago, as "of Bearwood Hall, Berks," leaving "personalty valued for probate duty at £90,000"), became "joint proprietor and exclusive manager" of *The Times* at the beginning of 1808—how much, according to his own account, did he not lose and suffer by his display of independence? Did he not, at the very outset, while conscientiously supporting "men in power," refuse from them "contributions calculated to produce a reduction in the expense of managing the concern," although these were "offered in the most unexceptionable manner;" because, "by such admission, the editor was conscious he should have sacrificed the right of condemning any act which he might esteem detrimental to the public welfare?" For 1803 was not 1789. There had been the French revolution in the interval; leading articles had grown to be things of power, and the poets Coleridge and Campbell were trying hard to write them—Coleridge in *The Morning Post*, Campbell in *The Morning Chronicle*. Walter No. I., though withdrawn from *The Times*, and despairing of "logography," still printed for the Customs, when, with honest boldness, Walter No. II. blamed "the Catamaran expedition," and did not shrink from reprobating my Lord Melville's delinquencies. Whereon Walter No. I had the printing for the Customs taken from him, and Walter No. II., still refusing to be bribed, was subjected to steady persecution: his packages and papers from abroad, so important in a time of war, being stopped or retarded by the officials. Against all which, like a determined, laborious Englishman, of the same stuff as the Arkwrights and Brindleys of the preceding century, he bore up doggedly and successfully, "arranging a sytem which, in spite of the authorities, procured him information of events abroad, often before the ministry themselves were acquainted with them." So that he announced "the capitulation of Flushing forty-eight hours before the news had arrived through any other channel," to the surprise and wonder of an admiring public!

This was the man, and these were the qualities and the temper, that helped to raise *The Times* newspaper, before he died, to rank, both in income and influence, among the powers and principalities of the world. How much he had to struggle against, and what skill and energy he threw into the contest, are still imperfectly known; and gladly would we forego a dozen lives of Tom Moore, and such like, by the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, for one good accredited biography of Walter. Everybody remembers how, when not far from the zenith of his prosperity, he was found alone in the printing-room in his shirt sleeves, composing-stick in hand, diligently setting up some item of important foreign news which had just arrived—the workmen being out of the way. "Logography" had failed, but the improving energy of Walter No. I. lived in Walter, No. II. If "composing" could not be artificially expedited, press work might; and hence that application of steam power to the process, which, gradually developed, now throws off 10,000 copies of *The Times* per hour. For ten years, Walter had struggled against the hostility of the pressmen, and, "on the very eve of success," had to abandon the further working of his model, from a failure of funds—his very father, remembering "logography," refusing to assist him further.

Mr. Walter, however,* was not the man to be deterred from what he had once resolved to do. He gave his mind incessantly to the subject, and courted aid from all quarters, with his usual munificence. In the year 1814, he was induced by a clerical friend, in whose judgment he confided, to make a fresh experiment; and, accordingly, the machinery of the amiable and ingenious Kœnig, assisted by his young friend, Bauer, was introduced—not, indeed, at first into *The Times* office, but into the adjoining premises, such caution being thought necessary, from the threatened violence of the pressmen. Here the work advanced, under the frequent inspection and advice of the friend alluded to. At one period these two able mechanics suspended their anxious toil, and left the premises in disgust. After the lapse, however, of about three days, the same gentleman discovered their retreat, induced them to return, showed them to their surprise their difficulty conquered, and the work still in progress. The night on which this curious machine was first brought into use in its new abode was one of great anxiety and even alarm. The suspicious pressmen had threatened destruction to any one whose inventions might suspend their employment—"destruction to him and his traps." They were directed to wait for expected news from the Continent. It was about six o'clock in the morning when Mr. Walter went into the press-room, and astonished its occupants by telling them that "*The Times* was already printed by steam! That if they attempted violence there was a force ready to suppress it; but that, if they were peaceable, their wages should be continued to every one of them till similar employment could be procured;" a promise which was, no doubt, faithfully performed; and having so said, he distributed several copies among them. Thus was this most hazardous enterprise undertaken, and successfully carried through; and printing by steam, on an almost gigantic scale, given to the world.

A memorable night for Walter No. II.!

The leading article department, though its style was probably more frank and pithy than eloquent and elaborate, and far, very far, from having had introduced into it the magnificent and many-sounding flow which is now the envy of surrounding nations, was carefully cultivated by Walter No. II., from the beginning of his management, and that it did not fail through ineffectiveness, is clear from the exasperation of the ministry in the affair of "the Catamaran expedition," and the delinquencies of the distinguished North Briton, my Lord Melville. Among the earliest of Walter's editors was Dr. (now or afterwards Sir John) Stoddart, a brother-in-law of Hazlitt's, and whose more than Ernulphian execrations of Napoleon procured him the soubriquet of Dr. Slop. When at last Stoddart's execrations grew insanely violent and loud—(let certain writers take a lesson from his fate)—Walter civilly gave him warning (so the story goes), with offers of a "retiring compensation," but the consequent diplomacies were cut short by Stoddart's starting *The New Times*, in which he cursed editorially without any Uncle-Tobyism to check him; but so far as success with the public went—to no purpose. To him succeeded Barnes—Thomas Barnes, once at Christ Church with Leigh Hunt (who describes him as in after-life absorbed, when not on duty, "in his Fielding and his bottle") the rival, in Greek, of Bishop Bloomfield at Cambridge, and subsequently a law-student in the Temple. This is the Barnes to whom the coarse O'Connell applied the neo-Homeric epithet of "gin-drinkingest"—the Barnes of whom it is said that when other and higher names got the credit of early eloquence in *The Times*, he might have justly cried: "That thunder is mine." During the last years of the continental war, when Stoddart was cursing his loudest, Barnes was writing acute and genial criticism on our chief poets and novelists in the the columns of the unsuccessful *Champion;* and occasionally, perhaps, throwing off a letter *a la Junius* to *The Times*, a species of gratuitous contribution, which Walter much encouraged. A Literary Reminiscent of those years, a part proprietor of the *Champion* and a frequenter of the joyous haunt at Sydenham, where Tom Hill (Theodore Hook's Tom Hill) kept open house, and Barnes was among the constant visitors, tells some strange stories of the habits of the future editor of *The Times*. How once he was found lying on Sydenham Common, deep in a wintry night, betwinkled by the wintry stars, his futile fingers playing with the snow, and his Bacchus-tied tongue fitfully mumbling forth an expression of inability "to draw the sheets over him." How, on another occasion—but let us be merciful to departed editorialism, and do for the frailties of this journalistic hero, what at that sad hour he fancied he could not do for himself—draw the sheets over them!

From recent letter-writing *a la Junius*, Barnes was promoted to reporting, to co-editorship and co-proprietorship, and died wealthy, full of years and full of liquor, in the May of 1841. Casual letter-writing, too, first introduced to Walter, so early as the year 1812, a contributor who was destined to exert a powerful influence upon the fortunes of *The Times*, and through it upon English politics, Captain Edward Sterling by name and designation. He was an Irishman, born at Waterford, in 1773, the son of a well-to-do Protestant ecclesiastic of the Anglo-Irish Church, had studied at Trinity College, Dublin, eaten his terms in London, and been called to the Irish bar. Joining a corps of volunteers, in his twenty-fifth year, when the Irish rebellion broke out, he never returned to the bar, but further volunteered into the Line with the rank of Captain. Sinking into half-pay, he became a sort of gentleman farmer, in one part of Britain and another; but agriculture could not engross this "impetuous man, full of real energy," and at last, in the year 1812, he got a footing in a more congenial arena, by Walter's acceptance of a steady series of "powerful" letters sent by him to *The Times* under the signature of *Vetus*. The connexion thus begun grew closer and deeper as it proceeded, until about the year 1830, when he became the chief writer in *The Times*. "A stout, broad gentleman," Carlyle describes him, "perpendicular in attitude, rather showily dressed, and of gracious, ingenious, slightly elaborate manners. Captain Edward Sterling, as we formerly called him, had now quite dropt the military title, nobody, even of his friends, now remembering it; and was known, according to his wish, in political and other circles, as Mr. Sterling, a private gentleman of some figure; over whom hung, moreover, a kind of mysterious nimbus as the principal, or one of the principal writers in *The Times*, which gave an interesting chiaroscuro to his character in society. A potent, profitable, but somewhat questionable position; of which, though he affected and sometimes with anger, altogether to disown it, and rigorously insisted on the rights of anonymity, he was not unwilling to take the honours too; the private pecuniary advantages were very undeniable, and his reception in the clubs, and occasionally in higher quarters, was a good deal modelled on the universal belief in it." He lived in style at Knightsbridge, spending his days at the clubs, and his nights at the desk. Among his sons was a man of genius, the late lamented John Sterling, whose biography, by Carlyle, contains many interesting notices of his father, and the latter is thus better known to us than any of his fellow-labourers in the enriching vineyard of *The Times*. Carlyle's impression of him is summed up in the soubriquet of Captain Whirlwind; "an amazingly impetuous, hasty, explosive man, this Captain Whirlwind, as I used to call him!" And yet "great sensibility lay in him, too; a real sympathy and affectionate pity and softness, which he had an over-tendency to express even by tears—a singular sight in so leonine a man." He drove about to the clubs, talked and listened, gathered up the feeling of the day. Then he came home, perhaps, to a pleasant dinner-party; none the worse in his eyes if an "Irish Lord" were there to grace the board. "At one in the morning, when all had vanished into sleep, his lamp was kindled in his library; and there twice or thrice a-week, for three hours' space, he launched his bolts which next morning were to shake the world." This was, or was considered to be, from 1830 to 1840, the Thunderer of *The Times* newspaper.

If you dip into the file of *The Times* about the date of the "Manchester Massacre" or Peterloo, you find the tone of the leading articles strictly, but not sternly, constitutional. Demagogue radicalism and Henry Hunt it abhors; but it is strong for the rights of the subject, anxious that no improper violence be done to citizens obeying the laws, whatever their opinions. The little sheet of 1789 has grown, in some thirty years, into a large one, which latter has an opulent show of advertisements, and the columns of together testify to a careful and vigilant editorship, and copiousness of contributions, reporting, and correspondence. Dip again, some ten years farther on, and the two leaves have become four, and everything is on an expanded scale. But, above all, the tone is altered from one of anxious constitutionalism to one of fierce, unbending, radicalism; it is the Captain that is at work, "storming along" for reform "ten thousand strong." Five years more, with the accession of Peel's first ministry, and what is this? "We are conservative now, and support Sir Robert and the constitution; it is the Captain again, who has wheeled around, and charges against those whom once he led! *The Times*, for many years had been an able and influential paper, but it was with its support of the Reform Bill that it first became the Leading Journal, and great was the lamentation and indignation throughout the land at so sudden and important a defection. Was the Captain the cause or merely the instrument? Had not Walter and Barnes, as well as he, become conscious of the actual impotence and intrinsic feebleness of the Whigs? Already, in the spring of 1834, the paper had declared against the New Poor Law. Walter, who had offered wages without work to his mutinous pressmen, and had behaved so handsomely to Dr. Slop, was not the man to approve of the New Poor Law; and, while he lived, *The Times* carried on a war against that measure, not only steady, but successful, although the success arrived only when Walter was leaving the world. Honour to him for this, and to the Captain for the powerful pen, almost whose last journalistic effort was a series of vivid articles in favour of the Factory Bill. There is a cock-and-a-bull story in Miss Martineau's *History of England* about *The Times*, in connexion with the New Poor Law: How its support of the measure had been promised up to the last moment, and how, the morning after the introductory debate, London was surprised by finding in its columns a fierce attack on the details and principles of the bill, and how somebody immediately went and bought *The Morning Chronicle* to make it an organ of defence. Any one who will turn to a file of *The Times* will find that this is inaccurate. Its opposition to the Poor Law had none of the suddenness Miss Martineau describes, but was gradual and guarded, though waxing fierce enough with time. The transfer of *The Chronicle* may have really taken place, and all this, no doubt, operated on the tactics of *The Times*, which lost many of its subscribers by the sudden support of Peel; though the loss was but a temporary one. Henceforth *The Times* was not liberal solely, but liberal-conservative; and the relation of these two elements of its politics to each other have varied with seasons and with persons.

Barnes died in 1841; about the same time the Captain's connection with *The Times* seems to have slackened or almost ceased; and now it is said to have been that the influence of the present Mr. Walter gave it a slightly Tractarian and Toryish bias, which was not long maintained. From this time onward, the grand feature which recommends *The Times*, namely, its independence, grew more and more striking. While everybody's opinion was pretty fairly scanned and judged, everybody was quizzed; Sir Robert himself, with his buff waistcoat and pompous ways, by no means escaping. This levity, and the inconsistencies of *The Times*, supported, of course, by copious information, by unquestionable talent, and by a style of constant, though, perhaps, too elaborate felicity, are the best merits of the leading journal. Better far to quiz than to puff. Better to vary from time to time, as men and circumstances vary, than to be chained to the wheels of some clique, or party, or faction, or ministry. Let us not know, when we take it up, what our paper is going to say. And this can be asserted only of *The Times;* in consideration of this, all its errors and vagaries are pardoned.

Old Walter, too, was carried to the grave in the summer of 1847: from the Catamaran expedition and my Lord Melville's delinquences exposed, down to the repeal of the Corn Laws, many things had he borne and done. The present management of *The Times* (and in all that follows we speak wholly from hearsay, so let "it is said" be constantly interpolated,) is vested in "young Delaine," son of that "old Delaine," who left *The Times* years ago, under the auspices of Gladstone and Company, to set *The Chronicle* on its legs again, it having fallen upon its face, in spite of its support of the New Poor Law! What is the precise function of Mr. Mowbray Morris, a gentlemanly man of dignified demeanour who passes in politico-social circles as the editor of *The Times*, who silenced the badgering Cobden when examined before the Newspaper Stamp Committee, who came erst from the West Indian isles afar, who has eaten his terms in the Temple, and written letters to the great Journal that now he is said to edit, by what name shall he be rightly called? Who can tell? Tyas, chief of the reporters, a cheery old gentleman of seventy, great in Greek, wooden-spoon at Cambridge, slayer of Lord Brougham's *Demosthenes*, editor of *The Evening Mail*—Tyas (they say) has seen election-scenes in his day, has known what it is to fall suddenly sick, and walk, like Waggett or Achilles, silent by the shore of the many-sounding sea. Let not Macdonald, the North Briton, principal "outsider," who reports all dinners and executions, in whose numbers the Crystal Palace lives one day more, who has received a precious autograph of thanks from the Prince Consort himself—let not Macdonald go without his fame; or Dr. Richardson, the man of all-work; or Mr. Thornton, writer of the Summary *fortisque Gyas fortisque Cloanthus!* Shades of Paul and Virginia! watch tenderly over young Bailey in yonder sunny isle: why did he leave us? he whose sonorous sentence was like the trumpet's blast, the clear music of Virgil ever deftly interposed the while; Ferozeshah and Gujerat were fought again in his leader: but *laudari a laudato viro* was too much for Earl Grey, and young Bailey is now Secretary at the Mauritius. Meagher, Paris correspondent, was once Paymaster of the Spanish Legion, and now is paid instead of paying. Better is "own correspondence" at Berlin, O Fillmore, than many translations of *Faust*. Not to the pleasant Mauritius, had Earl Grey his will, but to some dreary spot of torture, would'st thou be sent, O Bob Lowe, whose hair is white as the Australian fleece thou loudly dost demand shall be preserved; once thou didst plead causes in Australia, now thou pleadest the Australian cause in England; than thee no sincerer writer has the Leading Journal—why did not Oxford let thee profess to it Political Economy? Great is the voice of Ward on sanitary matters; when he speaks in anger, the sewers urge their liquid filth more swiftly to the Thames, the Board of Health turns unwell; and he writes in *The Quarterly Review*. When Oxenford enters his private box,—he that wrote *A Day well spent*, who expounded Dante and Rousseau, Rabelais and Plato, in *The Foreign Review*, the translator of many things from the German—then the manager trembles: were there but two people in the pit, Thalia and Melpomene would exert themselves; for he writes the notices in *The Times*. The critic of critics, of pure Caucasian blood, Samuel Phillips, found favour in the eyes of the Duke of Sussex, had not semi-Catholicism infected him in Germany: Dickens, Tennyson, Carlyle have heard, unresponsive their doom pronounced by him: but he had better have left Thackeray alone. Palmerston has fallen; worse than the possible broadsides of the British fleet at Athens was the bombardment of Palmerston by *The Times*. Who was the engineer-in-chief? Henry Reeve, the translator of De Tocqueville, clerk to the Privy Council? Did Lord Lansdowne once reprove him for anonymous battery of a Majesty's minister? A greater is still to come. Barnes is gone, and the Captain; young Bailey plies his quill at the Mauritius. Who alone is worthy to be named their successor—that had once a cure of fifty village souls, and numbers now his audience by the hundred of thousand, who rules in *The Christian Remembrancer*, who does not, like the old Jove, spare his bolts lest he should have none left—whose blended smile and frown dark-gladden the world of clubs—whose thunder is mixed with laughter? It is the Rev. Thomas Mozley, of Guildford-street, near the Foundling Hospital.

*Times, July 29, 1847. (Quoted in Mr. Knight Hunt's *Fourth Estate*, vol. ii., p. 171).

The Death of Count Tilly, April 30, 1632.

Ingolstadt is a goodly town,
Lies down by Danube's side;
And April's month is gay and green
All in the sweet spring tide.

In April's month so gay and green,
Upon its latest day,
In Ingolstadt's beleagured town
A dying man there lay.

It was a warrior worn and old
Of threescore years and ten,
Whom never more shall cannon's roar
Or trumpet wake again.

And at the head of that grim death-bed
In ranged order stood,
By the visage wan of the dying man,
A priestly brotherhood.

To bless and speed his parting soul,
With praise and prayer they came:
The men of that dark company
Miscalled of Jesu's name.

But as prayer was sped, and praises said,
His parting soul to cheer,
On the visage wan of the dying man
There stood a grisly fear.

"Now, fear not thou," those brethren said,
"Stout champion of the Lord!
Who live like thee, like thee they die,
Miss not their high reward.

"With blood of Holy Church's foes
Thy soul is purged and and shriven:
God slaughtered enemies for thee
Build up the steps to heaven."

But as the lays of prayer and praise
Further and further strained,
On the visage wan of the dying man
That ghastly fear remained.

"Fear not," they cried, "for thee on high
Applauding harps are strung:
Approving saints thy coming wait
To join the immortal throng.

"For thou has fought the righteous fight—
Kept the good faith hast thou!
Soldier and servant, tried and true,
Receive thy guerdon now!

"Mount, champion of the church of God!
Grown gray in her renown,
And change thy wreath of laurels here
For heaven's eternal crown."

"Mount!" But in vain the exulting strain—
Its notes unheeded roll;
To the visage wan of the dying man
No saintly hope there stole.

Forever as they told of heaven—
Before the outrolling scene
Thrusting its flame-encircled towers—
A city rose between.

The vision of a burning tower
His failing eyes descry,
The while a river, bloody red,
Rushes tumultuous by.

Athwart the streets with carnage piled,
There fainting foeman reel;
There trembling gray-beards vainly ask
Grace from the murderous steel.

Here, weak, defenceless woman flies—
There, feels in wild despair
The grasp of gory ravisher
Clenched in her lustrous hair.

Soft mothers bare the burdened breast,
Nor yet the stroke is stayed;
And on sweet childhood's lifted hands
Down goes the brutal blade.

Vain thought was then on Mansfield foiled,
On baffled Brunswick vain,
And Denmark flying fast and far
Athwart the Saxon plain.

Vain to his gilt-encumbered soul
The tale that glory yields,
Of thrice ten vaunted victories
Won from the streaming fields.

Marring the meed for valorous deed,
Hiding the immortal crown,
Ever before his blasted view
Uprose the burning town!

And, for transporting seraph-choirs,
Croatia' grimly hordes,
Reeking with blood of innocents,
Flash their accusing swords.

No angel-harps his welcome hymn,
But piercing shrill and clear,
Shrieks of immeasurable woe
Ring in his dying ear.

"Die and despair!" they seem to say,
And, at thy mortal goal,
Remember bleeding Magdeburg
When Heaven demands thy soul!"

'Twas thus in Ingolstadt's old town,
On April's latest day,
From the face of man to the great God's ban,
Count, Tilly passed away.

—*Taits Magazine.*

Mrs. Swisshelm, in a late number of the *Saturday Visiter*, gives this very practical essay on a somewhat hacknied subject:

EDUCATION.

It was last week we suddenly formed the benevolent resolve to enlighten the world with our sage opinions on this same important subject. We commenced, as we thought, in fine style, but when he had filled a couple of pages, it was time to send a package up for the mail, and also to attend to other affairs. Next morning, we resumed the thread of our discourse, fully impressed with the conviction that we had many very wise things to say, and should succeed in saying them with considerable felicity. Nay, we do verily believe we had already said things worthy of remembrance, when, becoming aware it was time to look after dinner, we laid down the pen, drummed up the kitchen forces, built a fine fire of old dry oak shingles in the range, to clear out the soot and bake the pudding; got the asparagus on the fire, the plates on the table, and all things going on delightfully, when, running to the race for a bucket of water, we saw the gable and roof of the house on fire, the flames roaring and rushing in a manner, that persuaded our inexperience they would surely devour all within reach. Mr. S. was in the city, and the men at work within call, though the horn was blowing for dinner, not being very hungry, did not even turn to look until we got into such a fever of impatience, that when they did come, we assured them it would be useless to try to save the house—get out what things they could! We had started nurse, with the willow wagon and its contents, to the nearest neighbour's, and were speedily transferring the contents of a book case into two quilts. All overturned into one view of the case, and, oh dear, what a rid out was there! Some of the men began with buckets of water and axes to baffle the flames until we could get the better part of the furniture out. When all the hats were carried out of the garret, and we had thrown the bureau drawers out of the windows, it was discovered that the fire was yielding. When it was quite extinguished, after two hours of hard burning, not a single rafter had been burned through; some had been cut away, but not a stick of timber in the building had been burned. A thunder storm coming up, caused us to move in quite as fast as we had moved out. Fortunately, only the dining room and kitchen were unroofed and drenched with dirty water. The bed rooms were all dry, and we had a very nice time during the two days it rained almost incessantly, and the house and barn were both abundantly furnished with what had before appeared little enough for the house itself. It was a comfort, when finding the pie pans, ladles and knives in the band boxes and bureau drawers, to know that these useful articles were safe, and when the old slippers, once thrown away, made their appearance in the knife drawer, we could reflect upon the utility of leather straps for knife grinders. Then we had reason to rejoice that all the bits of our dressing mirror and parlour sofa were safe; and that the number of pieces in the china set was considerably increased; but our ideas on education, written and unwritten, with the old tea pot in which we kept our saleratus, have not yet come to light. Whether they went up into the trees with the sparks, or down into the mill race with the blacking brushes, is more than we are able to say. We are not without hope that the ideas may yet be found in the soap fat keg, and the broken tea pot in a pigeon box, and should either appear, they shall be promptly brought into service. One thing about the education—woman's education! When our bigger half returned at night fall, and dryly remarked that "we might have made ourselves quite comfortable in any part of the lower story until he came home to put out the fire," we did feel as if one woman was a "pretty considerable" numskull, not to know that the old oak logs which have stood here since the British contended with the French and Indians for possession of the territory, must be too nearly petrified to admit of burning. Should we ever recover our former opinion of ourself, and justify that of phrenologists about our promptitude and efficiency in cases of emergency, we shall finish the lecture on education; but just now we feel rather too small in view of our exploit of "throwing the house out of the windows" because there was a bit of a bon-fire in the garret.

EFFORTS FOR OUTCASTS.

In a notorious district of New York an humble, quiet work is going on now, which may be a model for all our grand public charities.

During the early part of 1850 an earnest Christian man offered himself to his religious denomination as a Missionary in the Five Points. The idea was thought rather chimerical; still, no opposition was made, and the Missionary went out to his task. His first effort was with the children. In walking round the streets of this quarter, he soon found that the boys not only had no home and no parents but the most of them very little to eat. So the very first morning of his ministry he gathered a knot of them around him and told them to lead the way to a baker's. The baker objected to feeding such a crowd of pickpockets and thieves, but our friend insisted, and bought his bread-cake and distributed it among them. After this was over, he told the boys he should hold a meeting the next Sunday at the corner of Cross-st., and asked if they would come. "They would be —— - if they would'nt!" they replied.

On the next Sunday he opened his meeting with a very considerable crowd of women and boys. But what, with the oaths and the shouts and the pelting of everybody, except the preacher, and the general row occasioned, the services did not get on very well; and our Missionary at length told them he saw "this would not do," and he would have a meeting next Sunday in a room. They gave him three cheers, and he left, not at all discouraged. For the next Sunday a snug grog-shop was bought out, cleaned and furnished with seats, and a very good audience was collected, perhaps partly by the associations of the place. During the first prayer the Missionary was interrupted by a very singular noise, and, opening his eyes, he beheld the whole audience scrambling under the seats for the door. It appears there were assistants stationed at every seat, and the boys thought that they were to be "trapped."

We will not continue farther the account of Mr. P.'s mishaps. It is enough to say, that by a mingled system of feeding and preaching, and by an unceasing good nature, he gathered at last an attentive, well-behaved audience of the worst characters of the district.

While distributing his tracts one day among the brothels, an old withered woman who had kept her house there twenty years, told him "she liked them tracks, and the preaching. She kind o'thought it did her gals good. They allers got more drunk afterwards!"

One of the prostitutes, too, said to him, with a bitter curse, "What are you giving these things to us for? We'll read 'em, and perhaps we'll repent a day! But what of it? Give us something to keep us from *starving!*"

The missionary soon came to the conclusion that preaching for such was worse than useless. It aroused only to make them more reckless, as they saw the utter hopelessness before them. Starvation or Crime was always the grim choice. He went, accordingly, to his Society for means to provide work for these women. They replied to the effect that "he was sent to the Five Points to be a Minister of the Gospel, to preach and pray, and not to set up a work-shop!"

He tried then for private subscriptions—and succeeded, by means of these, in hiring a quantity of material from one of the shirt making establishments. With this, he set 20 or 30 of the women to work, on the promise of ultimately getting them places, if they proved steady. They stitched from early morning till late at night, the first day, and he paid them the wages of the best seamstresses.

He soon found, that if he would really gain much influence in the district, he must live there. He accordingly indicted one of the vilest of the houses, ejected its occupants and rented it. The old brothel-keeper, as she left it, told him that "he would soon be sick of his bargain? There were lice and vermin enough in the house to eat him out!" "If you can live there, I can!" said Mr. P. "The work of cleaning such a house, none but a housekeeper can appreciate, boiling water, slack-lime, scrubbing, soaping, sanding, white-washing, &c., for a week, until," said Mr. P., "the bricks on the outside were running with water." At length, he and his family moved in. The prostitutes were taken into the house, and regular work and board given them, and places found for them. A day-school for the children was established, where they were partly clothed and fed. A Sunday school and religious services, too, are carried on within the building. Mr. P. has since indicted and rented two other houses, and has now a hundred of those women under his charge—and has had, as we understood him, *over eight hundred* of them in his family, since he has been there; for the great majority of whom he has found honest means of livelihood, and with very many of whom, he has seen, as he thinks, thorough changes of character. He states, that he has had over $300 of sewing work out, in the Five Points, at one time, and has never yet lost a penny's worth—and though any one else might have his pockets picked at the first step, he does not believe a single article of his would ever be touched, if he should leave his doors wide open.

His most enduring influence, in my opinion, is over the children, who collect in considerable numbers to his day-school—as bright looking a set of little vagabonds as we ever saw. We heard them lately explain the map of the United States, quite as intelligently as could the children of our higher classes at the same age.

All this labour has been no easy one, it may be imagined, for Mr. P. His health is breaking down under that foul, diseased atmosphere; and he has hardly yet recovered from being stoned by the brothel-keepers—a brutal attack which laid him up last year for four months. It will give a better idea of his work, and of the needs of this great City, to described a brief visit we paid in his company, last Sunday, to some of the families of his parish.

A dark, narrow passage in on old house, with little rooms opening on each side of it. We almost stumble over a drunken woman on the first stairway, who has sold every thing but her night-gown for liquor. Two flights of stairs, the dirt hardened in masses on the boarding; no light, and air reeking with foul stench; and we knock at an upper room. As the door opens, we find a low, stifling place, no furniture, an old woman on a dirty comfortable in the corne; and another doubled up, her teeth chattering with fever and ague, on the floor near the entrance. In the opposite room are a crowd of dirty women, gathered round a bed, where a woman is gasping and convulsed with some fever. The doors and windows are shut and the air is like that of a sewer. We open the windows and tell them what to do. In a larger room below are eight or ten prostitutes together, some drunk, some on the floor. They all meet the Missionary very respectfully; and the "Mistress" indignantly repels the idea of any of "the young ladies" being "tipsy!" In one of the rooms a child is dying, in another is one dead, and no body appears to notice it. The filth, the air, the vermin, the brutal, sickly, foul faces are beyond all possibility of description. As we enter the next house, a young girl, with pale, rouged face, is coming out. "Poor girl!" said the Missionary as he met her, "you are the one I sent last winter to the Hospital, are you not? Why *have* you come back here? It is a hard place for you! You will die in a month here!" She casts down her eyes, and will die in a month here!" She casts down her eyes, and says nothing—but it is plain from her sunken cheeks and continued cough that her chances for life, anywhere, are small enough. She promises at length to come over and see him, at his house, the next day.

In this building, every nook and cranny is crowded with inmates. There are dirty lofts, without window or furniture, where we would not put our dogs, filled with men and women. They are generally lying, filthy and undressed, on the floor, as few of the rooms boast a bed or a chair. In the upper story is a pock-marked man, who informs us he was "a member of the Presbyterian Church once, in good and regular standing, till he saw the hypocrisy of it all"—and attempts to draw us, with a good deal of keenness, into a discussion. As we enter another room, we find several guadily-dressed women, standing around two young girls who are fighting on the floor. Through all, there are only a few who say they can read, though many of them take the missionaries' tracts. The majority are evidently Irish or German, a few negroes, who seem to be more cleanly—or less dirty, rather—than the others. Mr. P. has a hearty, free way of addressing them, and they evidently understand his objects, and always are very respectful. He said but few words, and those much to the point; and his efforts were mostly directed to getting the children into his school. We went also through the "Old Brewery."

It is sickening further to recall these scenes. No farmer would stable his cattle or his horses half so filthily. The hot, reeking air, the stench everywhere, the damp under-ground rooms, or the close, foul upper ones, the rank uncovered bestiality and drunkenness, the holes filled with filth and vermin and steaming with miasma, where human beings live and die! Nothing in the civilized world can present an aspect of such utter and hopeless degradation.

There are some of us who believe that these half-brutes, who lie about the floors of the Five Point brothels, were made in God's image, and that One died for them once, even as for us. But how to reach them? What is there practically *to do?*

We think that here, as elsewhere, the first great effort must be with *the children*. To prevent—to make the next generation, at least of the Five Points, start better—is the practical course. And we have called attention to this truly noble work of Mr. Pease, because it contains the great principle which should be embraced in all our efforts for the vagrant children and the worst classes of the City: Work, with religious and educational influence; hope on earth, preparing the outcasts for hope in Heaven; that the washing a vagabond and giving him work, and a good name again, will best prepare his heart for the only thorough reform—and that any effort without this will inevitably fail, from the terrible power of temptation and circumstances.

—*New York Tribune.* C. L. B.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

The planters of Cuba have formed a contract with an English house for the importation of 8,000 Chinese labourers, who will be apprenticed eight years, and receive four dollars a month each for their services.—*The Colonist of British Guiana.*

——Increased Average Duration of Life.—Professor Buchanan, in an interesting lecture, makes the following observations upon the average duration of life, the effect, in part, of the improvements in medical science. He says that in the latter part of the sixteenth century, one-half of all that were born died under 5 years of age, and the average longevity of the whole population was but 18 years. In the seventeeth century one-half the population lived over 27 years. In the latter 40 years, one-half exceeded 32 years of age. At the beginning of the present century, one-half exceeded 40 years, and from 1838 to 1845, one-half exceeded 43. The average longevity of these successive periods has been increased from 18 years in the sixteenth century up to 43 7-10ths, by our last reports.

——On the 13th May, the Queen of Portugal granted to Robert Wire and John Chandler, British subjects, the honour of receiving them at a private audience, to accept the representation which the Society of Friends addressed to her Majesty in favour of the liberation of slaves in Africa. Her Majesty was attended by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the Home Department. "The benevolence with which her Majesty was pleased to receive the commissioners," (says the Government journals), "the assurances that the Portuguese Government has not ceased to use their utmost endeavours to put an end to the odious Slave Trade, especially since the promulgation of the Decree of the 10th of December, 1836, and of the treaty with Great Britain, derived from it, of the 3d of July, 1842, and how much they have at heart the total but gradual abolition of Slavery in our ultra-marine provinces, all must convince that worthy Society and the whole world that the Portuguese nation, as it was the first in Europe which carried the light of the Gospel into those remote regions of the globe, so it will not be the last in making its holy and beneficent doctrines triumph over sordid interests which oppose and sophisticate them, and which oftentimes, under cover of the Portuguese flag, have concealed and carried on an infamous trade, not conducted by Portuguese, and which is as much proscribed and anathematised by the opinion and sentiments of their country as by those of its Government."

——A Touching Scene.—I was breakfasting one morning, says a naval officer, with Mr. McC., who had charge of the slaves at Sierra Leone, after they had been landed from the slavers, or from the ships of war which had captured them. We had finished breakfast and were leaning over the balcony, looking at a cargo of slaves which had just arrived from the Gallinas, and were being brought into the yard. I ought to observe that Mr. McC had in his service an intelligent African youth about sixteen years of age, whose name was Joe, and who himself had been taken from his own country, and, as a slave, recaptured, and landed at Sierra Leone. Mr. McC., whilst looking at the arrival of slaves, called out to the boy who was at work in the house, and said, "Here, Joe, there's a cargo of slaves just come in from your old country, the Gallinas; go and see if you can find any one you know amongst them." Joe did not require to be told twice; he was in the midst of the new comers in a moment; and had not been long employed in making an examination of them, to see if there were any amongst them whom he knew, when a little girl rushed out of the crowd and seized hold of him, casting her arms around him. And who was the stranger? It was his sister! Thus they met after being separated in their own country at a considerable distance from Sierra Leone, and after both had been rescued from the cruel hands of the slave-traders by the English ships of war.

Mr. McC. was not an unaffected witness of the scene. Seeing what had taken place, he called out to his young black servant—"There, Joe, take her in; you shall never be separated again." Gladly did that happy brother take charge of his dear sister, and bring her into the house of that kind master, who was so interested in the welfare of poor Africans.

——The Insanity of Feargus O'Connor.—For some time past Mr. Feargus O'Connor has been the terror of the House of Commons, and of all persons who frequent the halls and passages of the building; and after what occurred on Tuesday evening every one seems convinced that he is a maniac. Even before his departure for America his conduct during an examination that took place before one of the Masters in Chancery was of so outrageous a nature as to have justified his incarceration, had he not been dealt with in a most merciful spirit. Then there was a discreditable assault in a theatre, followed by incarceration in the House of Correction; then an exhibition of troublesome conduct in the House of Commons; then a sudden flight to the United States, and as sudden a return by the steamship that took him out, greatly to the dismay of the passengers; then a series of unseemly interruptions of the judges in the courts of law; and now, finally, assaults upon members of the House of Commons

A relay of police sergeants and messengers of the House of Commons are in constant attendance upon him in the ante-chamber, and Mr. O'Connor, who is remarkably communicative with them, entertains the time away with a narration of his career in the House of Commons, and of his travels in Ireland and America. His other diversions consists of songs, some of them not of the most unexceptionable sort. He shows no symptoms of violence, but walks about abstractedly and moodily, with an unquenched craving after brandy. This, of course, is strictly prohibited, though he is permitted with his meals to have measures of small beer. Soon after being placed in confinement he was searched, and a roll of bank notes was found in the interior breast pocket of his vest, and on the officer taking them for security, he is reported to have said abruptly, "Do not take those, I shall not cut anybody's throat with them." During Thursday, he wrote a letter to the Speaker, to inquire the cause of his confinement, and requesting liberation. This letter was delivered by Mr. Jacob Bell, who manifests much interest in him, but received no answer. He wrote another, which was conveyed to the Speaker by Captain Gossett, who returned with a formal acknowledgement of the note, which Mr. O'Connor construed into a missive of manumission, and could not be prevailed upon to disbelieve the delusion. Acting upon the mistaken impression, he made two "bolts" towards the bannisters leading from his room, but was forcibly brought back by the police, to whom he passed it off as a joke. On Thursday evening, between six and seven, Dr. Tweedie and Dr. Lawrence, with Mr. J. Bell, visited him, and the former gentleman prescribed for him pills and a composing draught. It is the opinion of those gentlemen that there is no doubt about Mr. O'Connor's mental aberration, and consequent upon this conclusion they have forwarded their certificates of insanity to the Speaker. The only Members who have visited the unfortunate gentleman are Mr. George Thompson and Mr. Fuller. Dr. Tweedie says—"I am of opinion that (making due allowance for natural eccentricity) such conduct manifests such a want of proper moral control as to lead me to infer unsoundness of mind, and to fear that, unless restrained, Mr. O'Connor may become dangerous to himself and others." Dr. Lawrence states that the unfortunate man addressed him as "your majesty." The Dr. thinks him "of unsound mind, and not fit to be at liberty, nor capable of managing his own affairs."